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own of European Literature

The Greek

Epic

By

George C. W. Watt, M.A.



THE GREEK EPIC

43, QUEEN VICTORIA STREET, E.C.

BRIGHTON: 129, NORTH STREET.

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The Dawn of European Literature.

THE GREEK EPIC.

BY
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THE VOICES OF THE STONES

FROM town and temple, far as we may see
Our long ascent—where the swarth nations bowed
Before their lords of death, where Caesar vowed
The world to peace, and where Humanity
Waxed beauteous with her gods and wise and free
In Hellas—the grey ruins that enshroud
Earth's olden glories wake and utter loud
Their tale, O Fount of light and love, to Thee ;
Whose love within the restful minster walls
Is wafted near in immemorial tones
Of Heaven's choir invisible, and Thy light
Resounding as the dawn on Memnon falls :
For day tells day, and hark ! pure breezes bright
Of truth attune the anthem of the stones.

PREFACE

THE field of early Greek literature has been fairly thrown open to the 'English reader' within our generation, and more especially in the last twenty years, not only by new translations in prose as well as verse, and direct aids such as Mr. Gladstone's '*Juventus Mundi*,' Prof. Jebb's '*Introduction to Homer*,' Mr. Andrew Lang's '*Homer and the Epic*,' and Mr. Walter Leaf's '*Companion to the "Iliad,"*' but indirectly through works in which the latest results of archæological and linguistic research have been sifted and condensed, such as Schuchhardt's survey of Schliemann's discoveries and Schrader's treatise on Aryan antiquities.

For those who purpose to possess themselves of 'Homer' and 'Hesiod' as thoroughly as they can with such assistance, and to study them in earnest as they study Chaucer and Shakespeare, an easy 'popular' sketch of the subject would be superfluous even if it were not already at hand in more than one old-fashioned manual.

It is for such readers that I have designed this introduction to the Greek Epic—the ‘Dawn’ of Greek literature—on the following plan :

In the first chapter the evidences for the early history of Greece are reviewed in connection with the recent discoveries on ancient sites. This historical preface is followed by an introductory survey of the ‘Iliad’ and ‘Odyssey’ (chap. II.). In the third and the fourth chapters the two poems themselves are presented in a continuous summary, so arranged as to indicate the successive stages in their growth, and accompanied by detailed explanations in immediate connection with the text. In the last two chapters the Hesiodic poems are treated on the same method and somewhat minutely, this branch of the Epic being much less familiar, even to scholars. The loss of literary form caused by this treatment is, I hope, compensated by the benefit of more direct illustration and the closer view of the original furnished through the summary and the translations with which it is interspersed.

The pieces which I have translated in verse are mostly speeches selected as bringing the Homeric characters into light. Several of these are borrowed from my ‘Echoes of Hellas,’ an illustrated volume not easily accessible. The metre chiefly employed is the iambic (blank verse). Though the refinement of which this most difficult metre is capable makes it, perhaps, a better vehicle for the Vergilian than for the Homeric hexameter, it has, especially for such dramatic passages, an advantage over any ‘ballad’

measure in its varied cadences and emphasis. Some of the Hesiodic maxims are turned in the Greek metre by way of experiment.

The finest of the modern poetical versions of Homer are, in my opinion, those by Worsley, William Morris, and Way ('Avia'). But to those who may prefer prose translations for the purpose of study I would recommend the beautiful rendering of the 'Odyssey' by Prof. Butcher and Mr. Lang, and that of the 'Iliad' by Mr. Lang, Mr. Leaf, and Mr. Ernest Myers, or the translation by the late John Purves.

Personal and local names are given as a rule in their Greek form (with *y* representing *u*), but not in the verse portions, where the ponderous diphthongs would interfere with the rhythm. Only a few familiar names are admitted in their Latin dress, *e.g.* Apollo, Penelope, Cyprus, Mycenae, Phoenician, Aeolian, or in English, *e.g.* Corinth, Crete, Egypt.

The map of Homeric Greece and Asia Minor is reprinted, by the kind permission of Mr. D. B. Monro and the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, from his edition of the 'Iliad.' To that edition and to Dr. Merry's 'Odyssey' this book is, I need not say, greatly indebted. I have profited constantly by Mr. Leaf's commentary and his writings on the 'Iliad,' and I have also availed myself of his analysis of the structure of the poem, a scheme which I consider preferable as a whole to any previous essay in the same direction.

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THE GREEK EPIC

CHAPTER I

PRE-HISTORIC GREECE

THE written history of Greece before Thukydides consisted of half-mythical chronicles with no more solid foundation than registers of kings and priests, filled out with fictitious names from epic genealogies, and lists of victors in the national or local games. This *historia fabularis* was compiled by Ionian prose-writers from the time when a serviceable material for books was found in the Egyptian papyrus,¹ after Egypt was regularly opened to the Greek traders by Psammetichos (B. C. 663-10). But, strange to say, the application of prose to history did not begin till the Ionian natural philosophy had passed out of the stage of versification. The first historical narrative, an account of Miletos, the city of Thales, was written, not by that eminent philosopher and statesman, but

¹ A book was then termed *biblion*, instead of *diphthera* (leather), from Egyptian *biblos* or *bublos*, the papyrus reed. Cf. 'Od.' xxi. 391.

in the next generation by one Kadmos, about the middle of the sixth century. Pherekydes of Syros, contemporary with the latter, owed his reputation as founder of the Ionian prose-literature to a cosmogony. The succeeding writers, Hekataios and others, who lived during or after the Persian wars, described the larger world outside Ionia—Lydia, Persia, Egypt. But it was not till the middle of the fifth century that what passed for the antiquities of Attica (that is, the genealogical legends of the nobility) were recorded, by another Pherekydes, as part of a series starting from the gods and the giants! Hellanikos and Herodotos himself could only draw deeper from the same two sources, local mythology and poetic fiction.

To the critical mind of Thukydidēs these traditions presented themselves, for the most part, as a mere tissue of fables to which the poets had lent a show of truth. Yet he had no misgiving about two great events, which nevertheless rested for him chiefly on poetical evidence, viz., the Trojan war and the Dorian conquest.

In his preliminary retrospect (i. 1-21), the famous siege of Ilios stands out as a strictly historical landmark. It was, he says, the first collective enterprise of the Greeks. Arguing seriously from the Homeric Catalogues, he observes that Greece at the time of the war must have been rather poor; for the total force (which he estimates by striking averages at 102,000) was small, considering that it was raised from the whole nation! The greater part must have been employed in providing supplies by raiding or by field-

labour. It was this poverty on the Greek side which enabled the Trojans to hold out for ten years. And it was not by reason of their oath that Agamemnon constrained the other princes to join in the expedition, but through the wealth which Pelops, his grandfather, had brought from Phrygia. This it was which made Agamemnon 'king of many islands and all Argos' ('Il.' ii. 108).

In this view of the Trojan story and of the Pelopids, Thukydides simply mistook poetry for history like his predecessors, the logographers. The epic genealogies made him believe in the Greek heroes as historic personages. The Catalogues imposed upon him with their show of definiteness. He was struck by only one difficulty—the feeding of the Greek army. But how, we might likewise ask, were the horses¹ and chariots transported? Again, if the abduction of Helen by Paris was historical, why not also her abduction by Theseus?

With the Trojan war for landmark, he attempts to penetrate into the remoter past. In the previous age, when there was even less wealth, contests were long waged for the fertile lowlands of Thessaly, Boiotia, and the Peloponnese. The older tribes were disturbed everywhere except in Attica and Arkadia. This shifting population had no common name. The Homeric Greeks are called Achaians, Danaans, Argives. But the really widespread, though not universal, name was that of Pelasgians. 'Hellas' denoted

¹ Horse-transporters were first built by the Samians. Cf. K. D. Hüllmann, 'Handelsgeschichte der Griechen.'

only Phthiotis, the country of Achilles : it took its name from Hellen, an ancient king. Before Minos founded his naval empire, the sea and the islands were in the possession of pirates. These were Phoenicians and Karians ; for bodies were found in Delos buried with armour (helmets and shields) in the Karian fashion. Minos swept off the pirates and planted colonies with his sons as viceroys. Yet it is plain from the questions put to strangers in Homer ('Od.' iii. 72 ; ix. 254), that piracy was still too common to be a disgrace. The Greek dress was, he adds, half-barbaric. Athenian gentlemen indeed had not long ceased from dressing effeminately, like the Asiatic Ionians, in linen tunics and tying back their hair with golden bands in a long roll like the tettix (*i.e.* like the ringed body of the tree-cricket).¹

The ultimate fact here is the antiquity of the Ionian race in Attica and of the Arkadians in the Peloponnese. We learn nothing of the Greeks in their relation with the mysterious Pelasgians or with the foreign world. Minos² is simply assumed to have

¹ See Lady Evans, 'Greek Dress,' p. 64. The temporary adoption of this long linen tunic in some parts of Greece as well as in Ionia is proved by early vase-paintings. After the Persian wars it was discarded as too Asiatic, except as a vestment for ceremonial occasions. Men wore, as in the Homeric time, a short sewn tunic, which was, however, usually woollen ; whereas the Homeric description ('Od.' vi. 26 ; xix. 233) indicates linen.

² The name has no connection with Sanscr. *Mánu*. According to F. Lenormant, the tradition is a reminiscence of the Aegean confederacy against Rameses III. (see p. 35), the Lykians (with whom he identifies the Leku of the Egyptian record) being also

been a Greek king or 'tyrant' who ruled from Crete. He may have been an indigenous Cretan god, whose name served to personify Cretan agency in the early Aegean civilization, while it had also acquired Phoenician associations (Minotaur). The name Hellenes, in its simple form Helloi, appears to be identical with Selloi ('Il.' ix. 478), from *sel* = *hel*, 'bright' (compare Helene); this confirms the tradition¹ that the earlier home of the tribe, which ultimately gave its name to the nation, was west of the Pindus range in the region of Dodona, the Hellopia of the Hesiodic 'Eoiai.' Whether the Danaoi are identical, or not, with the 'Tena of the islands' who, with Cyprus (Asebi), paid tribute to Thothmes III., and the 'Danauna' in the records of Rameses III., the Danaan name must be a survival from an earlier era, like 'Britons' by the side of 'English.'

Sixty years after the Trojan war (Thukydides proceeds) there was a re-settlement of Thessaly and Boiotia. Invaders of the former (from Thesprotia, Herod. vii. 176) drove out the Arneans, who seized the district of Thebes, till then called Kadmeïs. A detachment of Boiotians must, however, have settled there *before* the Trojan war, in which they took part. (Here the historian defers to the Homeric Catalogue.) Twenty years later the Dorian Herakleids (who had founded

associated with Crete, if we admit the Cretan ancestry of Sarpedon. But the Cretan Sarpedon, brother of Minos, is unknown to Homer.

¹ Arist., 'Meteor.' i. 14, 42. Curtius' interpretation of Selloi as 'dancers' (= Salii) assumes that the name was only that of the priests.

Mycenae from Lydia, but had been expelled by the Pelopids) returned and established their Peloponnesian kingdoms. When the country was settling down after this Dorian invasion, the Athenians occupied Ionia (cf. ii. 15), the Peloponnesians colonized Sicily with the south of Italy and certain Grecian localities.

The history of the colonization in question, apart from the legends which gathered about the 'founders,' is as follows. The Dorians themselves, ruling in Sparta, Corinth, Sikyon, Troizen, Epidauros, Aigina, and subsequently in Megara, founded cities in Crete and Rhodes with Knidos and Halikarnassos in Karia. Some of the Peloponnesian Achaians, combining with others who quitted Thessaly (Magnêtes), Lokris, and Boiotia, colonized Lesbos and Tenedos and founded Kyme, whence they spread down the coast and built Smyrna at the mouth of the Hermos. The name of these settlers, 'Aioleis' (Aeolians), was explained by a popular etymology as 'the motley.' It may have been derived, as Fick suggests, from the old Achaian name, which belonged to them of right (Achaioleis). The genealogists found an eponym for them in the Homeric Aiolos, father of Sisypheos! The Ionians¹ of Athens were the foremost in colo-

¹ E. Curtius' explanation of the name as 'goers,' *i. e.* emigrants, depends on his theory of their original migration from Asia Minor. Concerning the 'Javan' of Gen. x. 2, Ezek. xxvii. 13, which has been supposed to mean the Ionians, see Stade's *Programm*, Giessen, 1880. W. W. Müller, '*Asien und Europa nach altägypt. Denkmälern*,' traces the name in the 'Jevanna,' who are among the allies of the Kheta against Rameses II. (circ. B.C. 1380).

nizing the central coast, taking possession of Miletos and Ephesos with the mouths of the Maiandros and Kaÿstros, and of Samos. But the population which formed this Ionia was from the first multifarious, and Athens itself had taken in noble Peloponnesian families, such as the Neleids, who led the first colonies. The colonization of Sicily, Southern Italy, Korkyra, Leukas, Zakynthos, etc., belongs to a later era, when the Milesians were planting their own colonies along the Euxine, when Rhegion and Naxos (B.C. 735) were founded by the Ionians of Chalkis in Euboea, and Syracuse from Corinth. Thukydides elsewhere (vi. 1-5) gives a detailed account of the peopling of Sicily, borrowed probably from Antiochos, a local historian. The first settlers were the Iberian Sikanoi from Liguria. Eryx and Egesta were founded by Elymoi¹ (fugitives from Troy!), and Phokians (?) had landed and settled in the same quarter.² After these came the Sikels from Italy. The island was named thereafter Sikelia, instead of Sikania or Trinakria ('three capes').

In thus connecting the earlier emigration and the new Hellas in Asia Minor with the Dorian invasion,

¹ From the names Elymoi (cf. Elam) and Eryx (cf. Erech), it may be inferred that this tribe came from Asia and brought their cult of 'Aphrodite' with them.

² On their way home from the Trojan war! This, if not fabulous, may point to some early Greek pirates' nest, like the Italian Kyme (Cumae). The 'Shakalsha' in the records of Menephtah and Rameses III. can hardly be the Sikeloi, considering the remoteness of the latter from Egypt. The name 'Trinakria' is probably due only to a confusion with the Homeric Thrinakie ('Od.' xii.).

Thukydides was justified by the positive evidence of a change of dynasties in the Peloponnesian cities, although the Herakleid myth, which he does not question, was merely a fiction engrafted on the legend of Pelops to represent the invasion as the return of an older dynasty. The date of this movement can be determined only roughly. As the genealogical records of Sparta and Corinth, and those of Arkadia, assign nearly the same period for the foundation of the Dorian kingdom in each case, viz., eight generations, more or less, before the first Olympiad (B.C. 756), it might appear that the new settlement of Greece was approaching completion about B.C. 1000.¹ But a wide margin must be allowed in this makeshift reckoning by generations, which outlasted the transition from the genealogical epic to the prose chronicle. The old cities of Aeolis (Lesbos, Kyme, Smyrna) may be as early as the eleventh century, and those of Ionia not much later.

The Catalogue of the Greek ships ('Il.' ii. 484-760), which passed with Thukydides for history, is a conspectus of names and places which had clustered from time to time about the Trojan story. It is of course drawn mainly from the 'Iliad.' But the compiler imported names from extraneous legends, such as Nireus, 'the fairest after Achilles of all who went to the war,' who must have been borrowed from some epic concerning the suitors of Helen. Equally strange are the Arkadians under Agapenor.² A list of

¹ Cf. Duncker, 'Hist. of Greece,' I. bk. ii. ch. 2, 4.

² See E. Abbott, 'Hist. of Greece,' V. 11.

Boiotian towns, which is thrown in, suggests that the document was framed in the Hesiodic school, which produced epic verse of this prosaic kind. The standpoint is certainly Boiotian. It describes, not the ships in their station at Troy, but the assemblage of the fleet at Aulis on the Euripos. Consequently it had to be rectified, where the chief in command was dead (Protesilaos) or absent (Philoktetes). It is not a mere ethnographic map or contemporary 'Domesday Book,' but a poetic restoration of the Achaian fore-time, in which all cities that boasted an Achaian tradition were historically registered in conformity with the Homeric or other Epic records. Thus, for example, Megara is ignored, but not Corinth, and 'lower' Thebes is substituted for the Kadmeian city, whose destruction was part of the legend (cf. 'Il.' iv. 406 ff.). If the Catalogue was 'rhapsodized,' or, as Christ suggests, committed to writing for recitation at Sparta or some other ruling Dorian city, there is a motive for its silence concerning Diokles, the king of Messenian Pherai, who is recognized in the 'Iliad' (v. 541 ff., cf. ix. 151) and borrowed in the 'Odyssey' (iii. 488). It gives us an interesting glimpse of the Dorians established in Rhodes in their historical three tribes, and of Athens with her 'earth-sprung' citizens eulogized in the person of Eretheus.

The list of the Trojan allies ('Il.' ii. 816-77),¹ a subsequent insertion, is enlarged from the 'Iliad,'

¹ With this compare the summary ('Il.' x. 427-31). The Catalogue omits the Leleges and Kaukones, the Thracian Rhesos of 'Il.' x., the Paionian Asteropaios.

and gives us a view of the barbarian world, as it was in the days when Miletos was colonizing the southern shore of the Euxine. The list (828 ff.) of towns (not Homeric) on the Propontis, such as Pityeia, the older name of Lampsakos, can scarcely be earlier than that time.¹ The other neighbours of Troy are the Dardans under Aineias and the Troes led by Pandaros from Zeleia, the land watered by the Aise-pos: these are strangely called Lykians in the episode of the 'Iliad' concerning that hero (iv. 103, v. 105). The Pelasgians (841) of Larissa are probably those of the southern Troad, near Kyme. East of the Troad are the Phrygians and Paphlagonians. To the south are the Mysians, the Maonians (Lydia), the Karians and the Lykians (proper) from the distant valley of the Xanthos. From the further shore of the Hellespont are the Thrakians; from the North—the region of the 'wide-flowing' Axios—the Paionians.

It is known from historical sources that the actual inhabitants of the Troad were Teukrians; but the change of name need not imply a different race. The Gergithes, a wide-spread tribe of this stock known to the 'Iliad' (cf. Herod. v. 122), were probably the real occupants of the site where the poets had rebuilt Ilios, the kingdom of Priam. There is no clue to the language of the Troad. It differed, though perhaps only as a dialect, from the Phrygian. For in the Homeric hymn to Aphrodite (113 f.), the goddess, disguised as a Phrygian lady, says she has

¹ B. Niese, 'Das homer. Schiffscatal.,' accordingly dates this Catalogue about B.C. 650.

only learned the speech of Anchises through a Trojan nurse.

The Leleges are noticed only as belonging to Pedasos (Assos, xxi. 87) and Lyrnessos (xx. 92, 96); they appear, however, to have spread to Europe.

The 'noble' Pelasgians are not of much account among the allies. Known to the poet as barbarians, they are thrown in with the army of Priam. Yet, as they appear in Crete ('Od.' xix. 177), and the name is used to distinguish the Thessalian Argos ('Il.' ii. 681) and the Thessalian Zeus (*ib.* xvi. 233), the idea of Thukydides and of Ephoros that it had once prevailed very widely is not without evidence, though the tradition was, no doubt, inflated by a popular derivation from *palaios*, 'old.' They were, we must suppose, the remnant of one among many pre-Hellenic peoples forming part, in European Greece, of the inland population outside the 'Aegean' civilization of the coast cities. Their presence is attested by strange local names, *e. g.* Larissa—'fortress,' which is frequent in Pelasgian districts. They dwelt with the Thrakian Tyrsenoi in Lemnos and Chalkidike; and a Lemnian inscription, probably of the seventh century, discloses affinity with the Etruscan speech.¹

The Karians, with whom the Leleges are coupled in some traditions (Herod. i. 161), were a race intermingled with the Phoenicians, and expelled with them from the islands, whence they had pushed their way to Megara and the coast of Argolis (Troizen, Epidauros).

¹ C. Pauli, 'Eine vorgriech. Inschrift von Lemnos,' 1886. See A. Holm, 'Hist. of Greece,' I., ch. vi.

Miletos, as the author of the Catalogue was aware (868), had been a Karian city. The Greeks are said (Herod. i. 171) to have borrowed from them improvements in armour, viz., helmet-plumes, double shield-handles, and devices on shields.

The southern Lykians, whose native name was Tramilai, have left memorials in their as yet undeciphered inscriptions and in their sumptuous rock-cut tombs. But their origin is unknown, as is that of the Solymoi ('Il.' vi. 184, 204; 'Od.' v. 283), whom they displaced from the sea-board.

The Thrakians are a people to whom the 'Iliad' ascribes a certain culture. The finest swords are made by them. Their wine is greatly prized. Those, however, within the Homeric region may have acquired these arts exceptionally through intercourse with the Phoenicians, whose mining operations in Thasos are recorded by Herodotos.

With the Thrakians the Phrygians (to whom the Bebrykes of the Troad belonged) preserved a tradition of kinship.¹ But this implies no more than that some of the Phrygians had passed across the sea. Their origin was probably from the East (Armenia). The two languages, as known from a few words with Greek equivalents, appear to be radically distinct.²

¹ Strabo, vii. 3, 2, and xii. 8, 3, after Xanthos. The name Olympos was common to mountains in Northern Greece and Phrygia.

² Lagarde (Bötticher), *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. 284 ff. Ohnefalsch-Richter (*Academy*, 17 May, 1890), inferring from the contents of early graves in Cyprus that the island was first peopled by a Thrako-Phrygian race, argues from the fact that

'Dareios,' the foreign Homeric name of Hektor, is a Phrygian word meaning 'prudent,' according to Hesychios. 'Paris,' whose Greek name in Homer is Alexandros ('defender of men'), may be explained from the Iranian *par*, 'deserter.' 'Priamos' belongs, perhaps, to the same foreign tradition: the Maonian 'Meni-tiamos' is similar in sound.¹

For the early distribution and divisions of the Greek race we have, together with the traditions embodied in the Homeric poetry, the evidence of the dialects in their two main groups, Ionian and non-Ionian. The former, known to us in local varieties reaching back to the sixth century and through the older ingredients in the Attic, tells of an ancient civilization whose roots lay deep in, but also far beyond, Attica. The variations in the Asiatic Ionian, consisting more in peculiar diction than in difference of word-formation, bear out the tradition that the population was attracted from many parts. The affinities which the Aeolian has preserved with the Thessalian and with the Arkadian dialects corroborate the statements that the Aeolians came in part from Thessaly, and that the old Achaian race lingered in Arkadia. The Dorian movement is traceable from first to last through Doric traits in the dialect of northern Thessaly, whither these 'highlanders' are said to have followed the 'Hellenes' from Thesprotia, and by a Doric influence which asserts itself even in

horses and dogs were buried with the dead that the race was Germanic.

¹ Fick, 'Ilias,' p. 570.

the Epic of Boiotia,¹ is felt in various kindred dialects from southern Thessaly to Epeiros, and predominates in the Dorian districts of the Peloponnese and the Dorian islands.

With these historical data we have to collate the archæological evidence from ancient sites.

The earliest vestiges, apart from relics of a 'stone' age, are those of a population, whose dwellings have been discovered in Thera and Therasia beneath a volcanic crust, the effect of a great eruption which broke up the one island into a group (Santorin).² This people's manufacture of copper saws and gold rings, and the quality of their pottery, show that they had long passed out of the savage stage, though they still chiefly used stone implements. Rude paintings are discernible on the clay coating of their house-walls.

Of no less antiquity is the site named by the Turks Hissarlik ('citadel'), in the north-west of Mysia, commanding the plain of the Skamandros (Menderé) between the Hellespont and the western sea. The pottery belonging to the first settlement is as primitive as that of Thera. On the *débris* of this was erected a fortress, sheltering a little town beneath the low ridge on which it was built. The walls, strongly scarped, were constructed to some height of rude stone work, about nine feet in thickness, bonded

¹ See ch. v. Cf. Fick, 'Ilias,' p. 563 ff.

² See Fouqué, 'Santorin et ses éruptions': he supposes this catastrophe to have taken place before B.C. 2000, but the geological evidence is not conclusive. Cf. T. Bent, 'Cyclades,' p. 149 f.

with clay. On this was a superstructure of unbaked brick held together by beams, with galleries of wood for defensive purposes.¹ There were towers at the angles and flanking the gates. The chief gateway appears to have carried a wooden roof.² The largest of the few dwellings, like the palaces to be presently described, was approached through a double portico and a courtyard: the walls were made chiefly of small stones arranged in 'herring-bone' fashion with clay cement. The fortress had been twice enlarged, the later gates being wider and placed higher up, with raised roads or 'ramps' ascending to the summit. But no historical break is demonstrable through these periods, which, it is held, cover two or three centuries. The whole settlement was subsequently burnt to ruins, the flames spreading unchecked through the wooden roofs, buttresses, and galleries, and destroying the brickwork.

There was found in the wall of the citadel (in which store-chambers were probably made) a treasure of gold ornaments, drinking-vessels of gold and silver, and a few weapons of copper, some of it imperfectly alloyed with tin. The treatment of the gold is primitive, as seen *e. g.* in two diadems³ made of innumerable leaflets. The finest cups are boat-shaped: they have two

¹ Perrot-Chipiez, 'Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité,' VI. p. 181.

² Schuchhardt, 'Schliemann's Excavations,' p. 49, suggests accordingly that the Trojan elders ('Il.' iii. 149 f.) sat *on* the Skaian gate.

³ Schuchhardt, *op. cit.*, figs. 35, 36. Dr. Schliemann erroneously compared these with the Homeric *anadesme*, the 'plaited band' of 'Il.' xxii. 469.

prominent handles with a larger and smaller mouth, the latter probably for pouring libations.¹ It is manifestly an independent native art, which is exhibited in the skilful beating, rolling, and soldering of the metal. But, whereas no foreign imports are found in the first stratum, except jade (from Central Asia), we have here carved ivory and, in place of black incised earthenware, vases of fantastic shape, which reappear in Cyprus—some with eyes, nose, and breasts, others in the form of bears and pigs, long-beaked jugs, etc. The patterns are still primitive, zigzags and childish imitations of trees, running animals, etc., with a few more curious devices² on spinning-whorls and cylinders. But regular spirals and rosettes, adorning a golden bracelet and hair-pins (Schuchhardt, figs. 56-8), point, like the 'Cyprian' ware, to the southern Aegean.

With the next important occupation³ the area of

¹ An archaic epithet of the Homeric goblet (*amphikupellos*) is illustrated by this and other 'two-handled' types; the alternative interpretation (a cup 'of double bowl,' *i. e.* reversible) is unlikely.

² Some are interpreted by Prof. Sayce as Hittite writing. See Schuchhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 73. The hooked cross (*svastika*) appears on a leaden image with 'Astarte' traits (*ibid.* fig. 60); but there is no other indication of the local worship. This symbol is strange to Babylonia and Assyria, but it travelled as far as Hungary, where it appears with fantastic vases and idols like the Trojan. See Sofie von Torma, 'Ethnographische Analogien.'

³ Schliemann's sixth stratum (from the bottom). Above this are the remains of the Greek and the Roman city, which kept the Homeric name (Ilion, Ilium), the former built about B.C. 300. The tradition that this was the site of the Homeric Troy is older than Hellanikos and Herodotos (vii. 42). It was disputed, in the Alexandrian age, by Demetrios, an antiquarian, who lived at Skepsis in the Troad. His theory, which favoured the 'village

the city was enlarged. The latest excavations have brought to light more important buildings with a great tower and other remains of a wall reaching far beyond the first. The pottery is in part of a local type (grey monochrome) found also in the tumuli of the Troad. But with this there appears another kind, which has been termed 'Aegean' (or 'Mycenaean'), from its prevalence in the islands and along the eastern coast. The clay is glazed, the patterns are copied from vegetable or marine forms (sea-weed, sea-nettles, cuttle-fish, crabs, open shells, etc.). Another variety exhibits simpler curves, spirals, and wave-lines, suggested partly by metal ornament. The colour ranges from a dull brown to red. The latter sort is found especially in Cyprus and Crete, where the Oriental influence was stronger, the former at Mycenae, where a freer style was developed and a peculiarly lustrous glaze obtained.

On the mainland of Greece the chief remains are those of Tiryns and Mycenae, the two strongholds which, with Argos, commanded the sea-board and the plain of the Inachos. Tiryns was built first, near the sea but not on it (for fear of pirates).¹ Mycenae was founded as an outpost on the route between the Argolic and the Corinthian gulf, when a western trade

of the Ilians' (Bunárbashi), misled Strabo and stood in the way of modern investigators till Schliemann's decisive discovery. For the 'sixth' city, see Dr. Dörpfeld's Report, Leipzig, 1894.

¹ Thukyd. i. 7. For the earliest stratum, see Schuchhardt, *op. cit.*, pp. 113, 122.

was opened from the latter. But before the Dorian invasion the younger city had the supremacy.¹

The citadel of Tiryns and its palace were the work of kings, who ruled over a population capable of supplying unlimited native labour—a fact which the legend obscures by making ‘Proitos’ build his city with the aid of Lykian giants (‘Kyklopes’). The rock, rising in three terraces, was encompassed with walls entirely constructed of huge rough-hewn stones and clay cement plastered with lime. Vaulted casemates, serving for storage and as guard-rooms, were built in the thickness of these enormous walls, with galleries and staircases leading up to the palace buildings. The residence was approached through a double colonnaded portico or propylæum, and a spacious fore-court. Beyond the latter was a courtyard surrounded by colonnades, paved with concrete, and having in the centre what must have been an altar with a circular trench for the blood of the victims. The principal group of chambers was entered from this court through a vestibule and an ante-chamber; on the wall of the latter, which had been wainscoted with wood, there was a frieze of alabaster adorned with palmettos, rosettes, and spirals like plaited work, the centres of the rosettes and other details being of blue glass-paste (the *kyanos* of ‘Od.’ viii. 87). There was a bath-room adjacent, with a pavement of limestone, whence the water was carried down by a conduit: two holes in the wall were evidently intended to contain

¹ Both cities were destroyed by Argos, the Dorian capital, B.C. 468.

oil-jars. The great chamber beyond was manifestly the men's hall (*megaron*). But there was a smaller hall with its own court and chambers behind, which had a separate approach from the main gateway but no access from the rooms described: this must have been the women's quarter. In the centre of either hall was a stone hearth. The floor (of *breccia*) was adorned with a pattern in red and blue, the walls with paintings executed in fresco on the plaster. The decoration was like that of the frieze, but there were likewise pictures drawn with no little skill. The one preserved exhibits (in red and yellow) a charging bull, with a hunter who is supposed to run alongside and seize it by the horns. The roof of the great hall was supported on four central columns, probably high enough to leave an open clerestory, serving for light and ventilation. These and all the pillars had lofty bases of stone or *breccia*; the harder stone was cut with a smooth saw and bored by means of a drill-auger with the aid of emery.¹

'Aegean' pottery was found here in abundance: the painting disposed in circular stripes or divided as in the frieze, with long-necked birds as well as the familiar marine forms interspersed. But in succession to this there appears a rougher ware of duller hue: the wavy designs are exchanged for a huddled arrangement of angular meanders and zigzags alternating with rude figures of men and women. In a few vases, which seem to be transitional, white is still employed. The figures strongly contrast with the

¹ Cf. Prof. J. H. Middleton, 'J. II. S.' VII.

wall-paintings in their roughness: men aiming with lances, women dancing in chorus, etc., depicted as by a child's hand. A few terra-cotta images are likewise very primitive: they represent a lady or goddess (if they are idols) in a striped dress with breast-pendants, or rudely conventionalized with a mere indication of arms.

The history of Mycenae is traceable through a longer period. For the citadel contains within its walls a cemetery which represents not one collective interment, but a succession of burials, while groups of later tombs outside tell of another era of power and wealth with marked changes in art.¹

The earlier graves were deep walled pits, where the bodies were laid in splendid attire, with weapons and utensils mostly, no doubt, made on purpose for the tomb. They were closed by movable slabs of schist, which were upheld by beams fixed in bronze sockets.² The place of each was marked by an altar and a tombstone (*stèle*) above. Another evidence of worship is found in skeletons, which must be those of human victims, slaves or captives,³ immolated on the spot. Some graves (III., IV., V., Schuchhardt) are

¹ As the part of the plateau consecrated to the dead of the earlier dynasty, with its ring-wall, had been raised, levelled, and built over, that dynasty had passed out of sight ages before Pausanias; hence his description (ii. 16, 5-7) must refer to the later or 'bee-hive' tombs.

² Some appearances of burning in the graves are explained by the falling in of these slabs. Where this occurred, the remains of burnt-offerings dropped into the pit from above.

³ Cf. 'II.' xxiii. 187.

perhaps marked as the oldest by a more barbaric profuseness. But in every one the gold, which gained the city its Homeric epithet ('Il.' xi. 46), was lavished on men, women, and children alike. The elaborate pins in the ladies' high-raised hair (Schuchhardt, fig. 281), their ear-rings, diadems, and breast-pendants, were of gold; the dress itself was bedizened with gold foil. Their necklaces were composed of amber (a kind peculiar to the Baltic), *kyanos* and gems (sardonyx or amethyst) engraved with figure subjects.

The men and children likewise wore golden masks, which must have been modelled from the face after death.¹ Their breastplates, armlets, and gaiter-holders were all of gold. Their swords had wooden handles overlaid with gold and studded with rock-crystal; their sceptres were similarly ornamented. The bronze blades of their daggers were damascened with gold, silver, and a dark enamel.² Drinking-vessels of gold and silver and large copper vessels were buried with them. Golden scales were part of the furniture of the women's graves. Some of their ornaments, fashioned in gold plate, represented a goddess resembling the Hissarlik idol, but accompanied by doves; one is a miniature temple of the same goddess, with triple façade, windows, and entablature. Another figure, clothed and sitting, suggests the Kybele of Mt. Sipylos. Excepting these and terra-cotta ex-voto images of the old rude type, there is little or nothing of a

¹ See the late Sir Charles Newton's 'Essays in Art and Archæology,' p. 272.

² See note on 'Il.' xviii. 481 ff.

hieratic character. The designs, however, on some of the gems and gold signet-rings (*e.g.* Schuchhardt, figs. 281-2) belong to the same group as the Cretan, from which Milchhöfer¹ has attempted to construct a 'Pelasgic' phase of the Aryan religion. Mr. A. J. Evans² regards some (the double-headed axe, the ox-head, etc.) as hieroglyphs belonging to a syllabary distinct from the Hittite³ and from that which the Greeks of Cyprus brought with them (from Lykia or Karia?) and continued to use in place of the Phoenician alphabet. He conjectures that this system of writing was developed by the indigenous Cretans (Eteokretes, 'Od.' xix. 176), whom he identifies with the pre-Semitic inhabitants of Philistia in accordance with a tradition which connects the Philistines with Crete.

The stone walls of the citadel and those of the detached tombs are constructed chiefly in regular courses of polygonal or rectangular blocks. The grandest of the tombs are of the circular vaulted or 'tholos'⁴ form, approached by a passage (*dromos*). This chamber was, in most instances, reserved for worship and offerings, the burial-chamber being separate. The favourite treatment of the interior and the façade was one which employed the native skill

¹ 'Die Anfänge d. Kunst in Griechenland.'

² 'Journal of Hellenic Studies,' xiv.

³ See C. R. Conder, 'Altaic hieroglyphs and Hittite inscriptions.' Regarding signs on a Trojan whorl of the sixth stratum, see R. Meister, Berlin phil. Wochenschrift, 1891, p. 642.

⁴ See note on 'Od.' xxiii. 442.

in ornamental metal-work.¹ In the so-called 'Treasury² of Atreus,' for instance, the walls within were relieved with bronze (rosettes?), and this metal was applied with *kyanos* in elaborate tracery on the half-columns of the majestic doorway.

Of the native sculpture we have rude specimens in the tombstones: men or lions hunting, the victorious warrior in his chariot with his defeated enemy (as in Egyptian pictures) on foot; the spaces filled in with spirals. On the other hand, the great gate of the citadel overlooking the cemetery exhibits a masterly technique in the lofty relief over the doorway, representing a pair of she-lions erect on either side of a column, their paws resting on altars. Nothing similar has yet been found except in Phrygia, where lions stand on guard at the entrance of rock-tombs; the figure of a goddess appears, in one instance, in place of the column. These tombs however are not of very early date;³ whereas there is no visible evidence against the antiquity of the Mycenaean relief.

The palace, which stood with several other dwellings on the citadel, had been rebuilt. The earlier building was of the same massive construction as that of Tiryns, and similar in all its main features. Not

¹ The discovery of moulds, with other evidence (*e. g.* the gold masks), proves that this was produced on the spot, or at least by itinerant craftsmen of the neighbourhood.

² These tombs were wrongly supposed to have been treasuries. The real treasure-chambers were built in the city-wall or at the rear of the palace.

³ See Prof. W. H. Ramsay on 'Phrygian Art,' J. H. S. IX.

only the walls of the *megaron*, but those of the courtyard were painted, and the hearth likewise.

A treasure found outside the graves, and containing nothing made for the tomb, belongs to a later period; for the third or 'Dipylon'¹ style of pottery begins to appear, as in the important vase (Schuchhardt, figs. 284-5) on which warriors are depicted.

A still later age is represented by the contents of some rock-hewn graves in the lower city. For (1) brooch-pins (*fibulae*) of bronze are found, implying a change from the women's sewn dress to that which was made in one piece and pinned on the shoulders: such was the Homeric style. (2) Iron appears, in the form of finger-rings, still rare and costly. (3) Primitive bronze statuettes are found, and bronze mirrors with handles of ivory elaborately carved. Among the terra-cotta images are new types: a female figure (Here?) wearing a diadem, another carrying a child (perhaps Demeter 'Kourotrophos,' *i. e.* 'fostering children'). A silver cup, inlaid with gold and enamel, is novel in its ornamentation, which consists partly of a row of men's heads with long curled locks and pointed beards.²

On the site of Orchomenos, the city of the legendary Minyai, Schliemann excavated a 'tholos' tomb of grand dimensions: the stone ceiling of the

¹ So called because it is represented, in its advanced stage, by pottery found near the Dipylon (double gate) leading to the street of tombs at Athens.

² Razors were found only here; but the golden masks furnish evidence that the custom goes back to the period of the pit-graves. Cf. 'Il.' x. 173.

burial-chamber, which is only separated by a door from the other, is finely sculptured with a pattern of interlacing spirals and rosettes, imitated from textile work. Two rock-tombs, where the pottery again indicates successive occupations, have been discovered beneath the walls of the ancient sanctuary of Here near Argos: we are reminded by a multitude of votive figures in female form of the office of the goddess, whom women propitiated before marriage and after childbirth. At Nauplia in six similar tombs, which Strabo knew as 'Cyclopean' remains, at Pharos near Sparta, at Spata and Menidi in Attica, at Volo in Thessaly, the same mode of sepulture is proved to have existed. A stronger and later Oriental influence prevails, especially where ivory is abundant; at Spata, for instance, the Assyrian female sphinx appears. On the other hand, the native skill is greatly advanced at Amyklai (Vapheio). This Achaian city was conquered by Sparta, but not till about B.C. 800.¹ We may associate therefore with its earlier days the two gold cups found there (Schuchhardt, app. ii.). The designs on these (in *repoussé*) are highly finished and realistic. The one represents the netting of bulls; in the other they are grazing, while one is roped and led away unresisting.²

Thus there is brought to light a civilization distinct from that which had prevailed down to the time represented by the 'burnt city,' extending along the eastern coast of Greece and reaching to the Troad. It is proved by recent researches that a kindred, and

¹ Duncker, *op. cit.*, bk. ii. ch. 8.

² Cf. 'Il.' xx. 403.

probably older,¹ culture existed in Crete. Apart from the conjectural evidence for an indigenous system of writing, its wealth in carved gems and in 'Aegean' vases of both types indicates a great centre, if not the first source, of either industry. Such reciprocity implies an active maritime intercourse, and it is further evident that there were connections with Egypt. For 'Aegean' earthenware has been found in Egyptian graves containing cartouches of Amenophis IV. and Rameses II., while at Mycenae and Ialysos the names of Amenophis III. (about B.C. 1450) and his queen appear on scarabs and fragments of pottery. The smalt (*kyanos*) so skilfully employed at Tiryns was perhaps made in Cyprus, but the manufacture had probably been introduced from Egypt. The Mycenaean dagger-blades may well have been wrought on the spot; the fighting-men represented there and on the gold intaglios are, just like the bull-hunter in the Tiryns frieze, attired in short breeches. But the papyrus introduced in the design indicates an Egyptian model (cf. also the lotus, Schuchhardt, fig. 172); and a bronze dagger damascened with gold in the same style has been discovered in an Egyptian grave dating about B.C. 1600 (that of Aah-hotep, mother of Ahmes I.). The flower-pot with lotus plants represented on a Mycenaean cup (*ib.*, fig. 239) is another sign of this persistent, though indirect, Egyptian influence.

¹ A scarab with the name of Amenemhat I. (12th dynasty) has been found in a Cretan tomb, but cumulative evidence is required to prove that the tomb is of the same period.

These data are supplemented by Egyptian records of tribute levied from the Aegean lands and of naval expeditions against Egypt from the same region during a period which, if we admit the cumulative evidence from the Mycenaean or Cretan pottery found in Egypt, corresponds with the prime of Mycenae—the age of the pit-graves. Thothmes III. (about B.C. 1550) boasts of triumphs over Kaftu (Caphtor, Crete?) and Asebi (Cyprus)¹ and the isles of the Tena, which paid tribute to his ministers. These peoples are depicted in the tomb of Rekhmara bringing precious vessels as propitiatory gifts. Amenophis III. sent his ships to the islands for the same purpose. From the earlier years of Rameses II. to the reign of Rameses III., Asianic or Aegean names appear in confederations, *e. g.* the Toursha (Tyrsenoi² of Thrace), Tekkari (Teukrians of the Troad or Cyprus?), Dardans, Gergithes, and the Schardana (Sardians?), whose peculiar horned helmet reappears on a fragment of pottery in one of the Mycenaean graves (Schuchhardt, figs.

¹ Compare the decree of Kanopos (Ptolemy III., B.C. 238). The inhabitants of the Phoenician coast are named Fenchu, which E. Meyer ('Gesch. d. Alterthums,' I.) believes to be the prototype of their Greek name Phoinikes. He inferred from the context that Tena is an earlier transcription of the name Danaoi, which appears more correctly as Danauna in the records of Rameses III. But he now doubts this. Cf. E. Abbott's edition of Herod. vi. (app.).

² See Sayce on Herod. i. 57. Brugsch, appendix to Schliemann's 'Ilios,' identifies the Toursha with the Troes. In the lists of cities he detects Salamis and other Cyprian names and possibly Ilios (U-lu). The Akaiusha cannot be the Achaioi, since they are among the circumcised in the records of Menephtah.

192 and 202). Whether these included the Greeks or not, it is established that joint invasions by sea and confederations such as those of the Homeric tradition were an actual feature in the history of the Mediterranean nations from the fifteenth to the thirteenth century. As it is proved that the Greek cities celebrated in Homer were at the height of their power when the Asiatic stronghold commanding the Hellespont had likewise grown most formidable, it is a reasonable conclusion that the tale of the siege was founded on a real war waged by the very kings whose witness is now given from their tombs.

CHAPTER II

THE HOMERIC POETRY

THE powerful sea-roving kings of the Aegean, who left their mark in Egyptian history and traded, as we have seen, with Egypt, had resigned their commercial empire to their allies, the Phoenicians, even before the Mycenaean epoch. Between that time and the Homeric age, Greece must have passed not only through the period of Sidon's early greatness, when the Phoenicians settled on the southern coast of Cyprus and in Rhodes, but likewise through the period when Tyre sent her ships to the northern Aegean on the way to the Euxine.¹ It is probable that these Tyrian traders had only temporary marts or mining stations. When they are mentioned in

¹ Hence the name of the Tyrian god Melkarth survived as 'Makar' in Lesbos ('Il.' xxiv. 544); cf. Makris, an old name of Euboia. Other Phoenician names are Lemnos, Samos, Abdera, Salamis, Marathon: see Kiepert, 'Lehrb. d. alten Geographie,' Duncker, 'Hist. of Greece,' I. bk. i. ch. 4, and Engel, 'Cyprus,' i. pp. 557-93 (on Cyprian words of Semitic origin).

Homer they are merely called Phoinikes, whereas the old Sidonian name is not forgotten, but is affixed by tradition to the Phoenician metal-work, which had first reached Greece through the Cyprian settlements. On the other hand, a long-established use of the sumptuous woollen fabrics, which the Phoenicians dyed in different hues of 'purple,' is proved by the Greek designation of the land and people; for, though the name may have had its source in 'Fenchu,' its Greek form was manifestly suggested by the 'red' (*phoinos*) dye. A still earlier debt is implied by the Semitic words for the linen tunic (*chiton*, Hebr. *k'thōneth*) and fine linen (*othone*, Hebr. 'ētūn), for gold (*chrusos*, Hebr. *chārūts*), saffron (*krōkos*, Hebr. *karkōm*), a jar (*kados*, Hebr. *kad*), a pillar (*kion*, Hebr. *kiyun*), a lute (*kitharis*). In Homeric times the old Phoenician population still clung to the southern islands. In Cyprus especially the Semitic element was predominant. Such waifs of the early Achaian emigration as had reached the island¹ were estranged from the higher Greek civilization by their barbaric alliances. Hence no Cyprians are numbered with the army of Agamemnon. His guest-friend Einyras ('Il.' xi. 20) is a Phoenician prince of Amathus, Dmetor ('Od.' xvii. 443) is also a foreigner, and in the story of Menelaos' travels (*ib.* iv. 84) Cyprus is on the same horizon with Phoenicia. The foreign Aphrodite, whose Greek cult was established there

¹ Compare the legend of an Arkadian settlement under Agapenor, which is corroborated by Aeolian traits in the Cyprian dialect.

and in Kythera, had been adopted—not, perhaps, very long before¹—into the Olympian family, but she is ranked as a friend to the Trojans, and made responsible for the perfidy of Paris.

The antiquity of the Homeric poetry is more safely measured by these Phoenician references and by geographical indications than by the monumental evidence, considering the gaps which still exist in the archæological chronology. It is certain, on the one hand, that the Homeric Greeks were then masters, except in the South, of their own lands and seas. On the other hand, though used to sailing and trading by sea, they had not followed the Phoenicians far outside the Aegean. Sicily (Sikanie, Sikeloï) is only just within the sphere of the ‘Odyssey.’ Egypt is known, in that poem, not merely by fame. But there is hardly an allusion to any of the Asiatic empires. There is some report of the nomad tribes beyond the Balkans, but the northern shores of the Euxine are only peopled by wizards and ghosts.

The general tenour of the internal evidence is to connect the ‘Iliad’ and the ‘Odyssey,’ in time, with the decline of the ‘Achaian’ or pre-Hellenic age, and locally with Aeolis and Ionia.

That the Homeric civilization, as Herodotos (ii. 53) rightly judged, did not belong to an altogether remote or forgotten past, might readily be inferred from its continuity, as a whole, with that of historic Hellas. But in placing Homer 400 years before his own time (B.C. 850), the historian did not over-estimate the

¹ Cf. Gladstone, ‘Landmarks of Homeric Study,’ p. 141 ff.

length of time implied by the alterations which he noticed (i. 171) in the Greek armour. The Homeric armour, as he saw, was of a pre-Hellenic type. The shield was not wielded on the arm by handles, but—as is now clear from the Mycenaean designs—slung from the neck and of some ponderous ‘tower-like’ form, unmanageable except with the chariot. As the round buckler, which displaced this, came in with the metal cuirass toward the end of the eighth century, we may conclude from the few Homeric allusions to the former and the occasional interpolation of the latter that the ‘Iliad’ was in its last stage at this turning-point, when the Hellenic panoply was a novelty. But we may follow Herodotos in assigning the earlier portion of the poem, where the old types survive, to the ninth century. There are likewise unmistakable notes of pre-Hellenic antiquity in social usages. The common tenure of land still subsists, with the corresponding mode of land-measurement: the ‘king’ can give away a farm to his servant, but he alone has a domain of his own. Justice is still primitive; law consists in the king’s awards. The old tribal rule of retaliation survives; only in special cases, which the king refers to arbitrators, the family of the murdered man may be denied their right to insist on death or outlawry. The primitive custom of wife-purchase still prevails. The dowry is only known in the incipient form of gifts to a specially privileged claimant. Homeric kingship, though hereditary, depends on worth—that is, native powers and eloquence—as well as birth. The king’s prerogatives are simply

his domain and dues with a larger share of the common spoil. The reckoning of value in oxen is still fairly definite: one slave is worth four, another worth twenty. Though values are otherwise reckoned in gold, by the small weight or 'talent,' there is no such employment of silver or *elektron*, and there is no hint of the later 'talent' or its subdivisions.

This estimate is not disturbed, but confirmed, by the Homeric notices of iron by the side of bronze. While the latter is still the ordinary material for weapons, iron is undoubtedly familiar enough to appear in ideal descriptions (*e.g.* of the gates of Tartaros), and to serve as a metaphor (*e.g.* for hardness of heart). Its actual application, however, being so restricted, we may conclude that the age of iron had not long commenced in Greece. There is only one allusion, and that in a late interpolation ('Il.' xxiii. 798), to its employment in agriculture. The first sign of a larger use is a phrase in the 'Odyssey' (xvi. 294), where it stands for 'sword,' like the Anglo-Saxon *îren* in 'Beowulf': 'the sight of iron lures a man to fight.' The tempering of this metal is mentioned ('Od.' ix. 391), though the special terms for steel (*adamas*, *chalybs*) are later. It must have been introduced some time before the Homeric age, perhaps first from the region of the Caucasus (if the Greek word *sidēros* is of Caucasian origin¹), and obtained through the Phoenicians from the neighbourhood of Tainaron (cf. Hebr. *tannûr*, 'melting-furnace')

¹ See Schrader, 'Pre-historic Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples,' p. 206.

and elsewhere, but not in large quantity. In the 'Odyssey' (i.) it is a Taphian who carries a cargo of it.

As regards locality, there is little or nothing in the recent discoveries to outweigh the Greek tradition, which associated Homer with different cities, but all in the Aeolian region or the adjacent districts of Ionia, Kyme and Bolissos, Smyrna and Chios. Minor correspondences between the Homeric and the 'Mycenaean' art, such as the ornamental use of *kyanos*—which no doubt was an enduring fashion in Greece as in Egypt—do not remove the impression of distance from the great walled cities of the Peloponnese, which is conveyed by the scantiness of the Homeric architecture and sculpture. There are European traits, it is true, in the oldest portion of the 'Iliad,' but these are Thessalian—familiar allusions to mountains and rivers of northern Greece, and to lions (in similes), with other reminiscences of the country which claimed Achilles for its own, such as might be explained by a Thessalian parentage, and suggest, at the least, that the poet was among the earlier descendants of the first 'Achaian' settlers. But in the next, if not in the same, stratum of the poem, the local colouring is clearly Asiatic. In similes—where the poet's environment is likely to be reflected—the agitated sea, which serves to illustrate a tumult in the Greek assembly, is the 'Ikarian' ('Il.' ii. 145); the wind which blows on shore is the strong Zephyros (*ib.* iv. 276, 423), and it comes down from Thrake (*ib.* ix. 7); the river-birds flock to the Kaÿstros (*ib.* ii. 461).

But assuming, as we must, that the earlier Mycenae, the city of those kings and queens whose foreign aspect has led some authorities to regard them as Karian or Phoenician,¹ is wholly remote from the Homeric world, can we connect Homer with the later stage of the city, when the great 'tholos' tombs were built? Against this the tombs themselves are evidence. For there is no trace in Homer (excepting certain 'survivals') of the tradition of interment, which prevailed uniformly in European Greece from the age of the Mycenaean pit-graves down to that of the Nauplia tombs, and was perpetuated at Athens as late as B.C. 700. We hear nothing of burial in sumptuous vaults,² but only of simple barrows to receive the funereal coffer or urn, and of cremation. That this was neither novel nor unusual is proved by the elaborate ritual which went with it. It presupposes a change of thought, which can only have been brought about gradually by the separation of the Greeks from their old homes. With the Mycenaean usage there must have been a sense of the nearness of the dead and a belief in the ghost as haunting the place, enjoying the funereal offerings and the costly furniture of the tomb. But when the body was burned, the surviving spirit was imagined as a wraith which, set free by the fire, vanished to a world belonging to the dead alone. The Homeric Hades was

¹ See Schuchhardt, p. 100, 311 ff. Compare Prof. Percy Gardner, 'New Chapters in Greek History,' ch. 3.

² The exception where the special Lykian usage is concerned ('Il.' xvi. 456) only points the contrast.

the result of this idea. The dispossessed ghosts were necessarily congregated in a separate habitation, and the rites at the pyre were intended not merely to do them honour, but to keep them apart in their own place.

The Homeric picture of Greece is otherwise, and for the same reason, incomplete and one-sided.¹ However much the poet makes use of European legends, he cares little for the old local cults and superstitions of the mother-country. He disregards this priestly lore, as indeed he disregards the priesthood itself. He ranges the gods, as many as have parts to play in the Trojan war, in an Olympian court a little above the 'kings of men,' and embroils them both together with unstinted dramatic licence and a rude pride in human worth, not tempered by reflection as it is in the aristocratic poet of a later age:¹

"The race of men and gods is one, and from one Mother we both draw our breath. Albeit in degree of strength we are parted altogether, seeing that man is nought, but the brazen heaven is an everlasting stablished seat, and we know not by day nor in the night what course hath Destiny traced for us to run, yet in puissance of mind withal and in bodily mould we bear a likeness to the immortals."

The Greek epic appears nevertheless to have had a religious origin. It had passed through a phase in which it served, in the absence of sacred books, to formulate and make known the earliest traditions concerning the gods and heroes. It ran parallel with the Vedic poetry in so far that the old Aryan word for the sky took a personal meaning in both

¹ Pindar, 'Nem.' vi. 1-7.

together (Zeus, Dyaus). A similar poetical affinity is evidenced by a few hieratic words and phrases.¹ As it may be supposed that hymns such as those preserved in Hesiod had their prototype in descriptive chants composed in the service of the temples for festivals and sacrifices,² it is an obvious inference that this kind of commemoration was extended from the gods to the heroes, and the minstrel was consequently accepted as the exponent of all that concerned both. Hence it was that the sacred lyre remained with him, and he continued to invoke the Muses, whose association with Zeus is likewise attested by Hesiod.³

It was, moreover, the *kitharis* itself which led to the invention of the epic metre. This six-foot dactylic verse was apparently developed from two tripodies of a simple lyrical character, by a process which may be traced in fragments of popular Aeolian song as well as in the highly artistic Lesbian metres. It is more closely akin to these than to the old Italian ('saturnian') verse, in which similar (trochaic) tripodies are found in inverse arrangement :

"Fórtis vír sapiénsque / Gnaivód patré prognátus
Malúm dabúnt Metélli / Naévió poétae."

¹ E. g. *potnia*, *patní* ('lady'), *hagios*, *jagjas* ('holy'), *dīos*, *dīvyas* ('heavenly,' 'noble'), *ēōs*, *usas* ('dawn'), *menos ēu* = *vasu manas* ('goodly strength'), *dolēres eāōñ* = *datāras vasūnām* ('givers of boons ; i. e. the gods).

Cf. 'Il.' i. 473, 604 ; 'Theog.' 36-67.

Later tradition ascribed the lyre to Apollo, the epic metre to a Lykian Olen, with a view to explain those musical contests at Delphi (Pausan. x. 7), to which we owe the scores recently discovered on the spot.

Its regulation by the beats of the lyre distinguished it wholly from the anapæstic or 'marching' metres and from the long-drawn choric rhythms, which the flute made possible.¹

The poems subsequently known as the 'Iliad' (story of Ilios) and the 'Odyssey' were founded at a time when this epic metre had come to be handled with perfect skill. An epic style had then been formed, which these masterpieces exhibit at its best—unsophisticated, yet thoroughly finished and modulated—except in the latest portions, where it is employed with less fidelity and with symptoms of incipient decline. The language is, in its basis, Ionic, but it is mixed with alternative forms which do not belong to the Ionic of the inscriptions and of Herodotos, but appear, from distinct traces of affinity in the Lesbian, Thessalian and Arkadian dialects, to have descended from an old Aeolian or 'Achaian' stratum of the language, from which the Ionian stands far apart. Unless these were merely archaic, like the conventional survivals in modern English verse—a theory which can hardly be applied, *e. g.* to Aeolic forms of the personal pronouns—they must be the result of a translation either in a pre-Homeric phase of the epic or after the nucleus of the Homeric poetry was created, but not long after; for in that case the Aeolic would have held its own

¹ Compare the 'Classical Review,' I., p. 92 and 163. H. Usener, 'Altgriechischer Versbau,' infers from the anacrusis that the tripody in each case represents an original tetrapody, which he connects with the primitive Vedic metre and that of the Zend-Avesta, a verse of eight syllables (the first light).

and become the model epic dialect.¹ The fact that the letter τ (digamma) had not lost its value till the latest stage in the composition of the two poems is easily explained, apart from the hypothesis of a translation, if they were produced in northern Ionia, *e. g.* in the neighbourhood of Smyrna ; for the sound may well have been preserved there as in the Aeolian district, though it was dropped in the southern dialects a long time, probably, before the rise of the iambic and elegiac poetry in the seventh century.²

For the earlier portion of the 'Iliad' and even of the 'Odyssey' memorial composition may fairly be inferred both from the character of the structure and from Homeric allusions to minstrelsy. We learn from the latter source that the minstrels were attached to princely courts, but were sometimes 'sent for,' that they had their apprentices or 'taught' their poetry to others, and that this poetry was simply framed in sequences of lays ('flights' of song) founded chiefly on familiar legends, which were re-told with new motives and incidents. If this description, viewed in connection with the internal evidence, makes writing improbable, that agency is strongly suggested by the re-casting which both poems underwent, the complica-

¹ Fick is therefore wrong in assigning it primarily to Kynaithos, who is said to have 'rhapsodized' (edited for recitation) the Homeric poetry with insertions of his own at Syracuse in the 69th Olympiad (schol. on Pindar, Nem. ii. 1, after Hipponotatos), though this late date is probably a mistake. Cf. 'Classical Rev.,' I., p. 92, II., p. 200.

² Cf. W. Christ, 'Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur,' pp. 44-6.

tions of the plot, the stray episodes, the scraps of extraneous legend and irrelevant mythology thrown in from a miscellaneous repertory.

The Greeks—and the Ionians among the first—must have acquired the Phoenician alphabet long before the time from which the earliest extant inscriptions date, that is, the beginning of the seventh century, when they are found on tomb-stones (*e. g.* in Thera). Two or three generations later the Greek writing was in its transitional (*boustrophedon*) stage and familiar enough to be employed, as is proved by a rock-inscription at Abou Symbel, by Ionian captains of mercenaries. It may possibly have been employed in Ionia as early as the eighth century by poets, who then belonged to the city rather than the court, and made it their business to preserve the stock of epic verse, to recite it publicly at festivals, and to edit it for that purpose.¹

The 'Iliad' (vi. 168 ff.) gives us one glimpse of the art creeping in, just where it might be expected. This is in an episode (certainly later than the context, which it disturbs) added in honour of some Ionian house which had a Corinthian connection. The Lykian Bellerophon is described as carrying from Corinth 'sinister signs, graven in a folded tablet,' which purported to be a 'token' or introduction, but

¹ It is significant that some of the improvements of the alphabet, in which the Ionians had so large a share—viz., the signs for long or open *e* and *o*—were ascribed to an Ionian poet, Simonides of Keos. They were actually of much earlier origin.

were intended as hints to his host, who was to send him to deadly encounters with the Chimaira and other foes. Granted that these signs are pictures, the poet must have known writing likewise ; for an introduction such as Bellerophon carried (evidently as a matter of course) cannot have been usually a picture, and the 'tablet' appears very like the later *deltos*.

The analysis adopted in the two following chapters¹ is founded on internal indications of the original sequence, and on the criteria of relative lateness just mentioned, to which must be added marks of inferior art, especially mechanical copying (as distinct from ordinary epic repetition), and lastly, Dorian and Athenian references, outside the original scope of the poems.

The *early* 'Iliad' or 'Achilleid,' and its *continuation*: (I.) The quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilleus, an episode from the old legend of the Trojan war. Into this primitive story of rapine, derived from an age when the savage passion for plunder was dominant, a fine ethical motive was

¹ The analysis of the 'Iliad' is Mr. Leaf's (see his 'Companion'). It follows in many essential points the reconstruction by Fick ('Ilias'), but the latter assumes the Trojan scenes (ii.-vii.) to have been put in from a different poem! The 'Iliad' has been treated from a similar point of view (viz. the expansion of a short but more or less complete epic by successive accretions) by W. Christ, G. Naber ('Quaestiones Homericae'), and L. Erhardt ('Entstehung der homerischen Poesie'). This theory was first projected by G. Grote ('Hist. of Greece') and H. Düntzer in opposition to that of a compilation from isolated ballads (F. A. Wolf, K. Lachmann, A. Köchly).

introduced by blending with the chieftain's wounded pride a chivalrous love for his young comrade Patroklos, and by emphasizing the contrast between this stormy, impulsive warrior, and the weak and insolent king. A highly dramatic development was given to the battle through the hero's withdrawal, and to the action of the gods—Apollo's hostility breaking out on the Greeks in pestilence, Zeus humiliating them to please Thetis. But the basis of the poem was the tragedy of love and hate in Achilles' heart. This short epic was expanded by lays which could be variously combined with it: (II. A). Diomedes was made prominent in succession to the heroes of the original battle (Menelaos, Odysseus, Aias). The scene was transferred to Ilios, with a duel between Hektor and Aias. Andromache's transport of grief was added to the description of Hektor's death, and likewise her parting from him. The (southern) Lykians, Sarpedon and Glaukos, were introduced. (II. B). A second duel (Paris and Menelaos) was inserted, with the breach of the truce by the (northern) Lykian Pandaros. Helene was introduced with Aphrodite, the goddess being wounded by Diomedes, whose prowess thus becomes superhuman. (II. C). He wounds Ares also. Nestor, the veteran counsellor of the original poem, and the Kretan Idomeneus are prominent, the former as a tactician. (III. A). At this stage the battle (to which a new turn is given by Here beguiling Zeus to sleep) was complicated by the fortifying of the Greek camp. (III. B). Picturesque and pathetic episodes: the elaborate 'Shield of

Achilleus,' the embassy of Odysseus and Aias, the burial of Patroklos, the ransom of Hektor's corpse.

The *later* 'Iliad': (IV.) The battle of the gods, the encounter of Aineias with Achilleus, and rhetorical pieces (Nestor, Phoinix), the story of Dolon. (V.) The exploits of the Rhodian Tlepolemos and the Athenian Menestheus. Lastly, the Catalogues and minor 'editorial' interpolations.

The *early* 'Odyssey': the nucleus was perhaps a series of adventures (I.*) ending with the slaughter of the cattle of Helios in Thrinakie (compare the proem).¹ The material for these being found in old popular tales, the ethical interest is weak and the geography wholly vague; Odysseus is blown about the sea at random. In the enlarged and complete epic (I.) the poet, free to invent his incidents, characters and names, and using as his motive Odysseus' passionate longing for home, began by representing him in captivity with Kalypso (the situation being explained by a council of the gods), and subsequently among the Phaiakians. The sequel, in which the ethical keynote was sustained, was his retribution on

¹ For a different theory, according to which this portion was an after-growth, see Croiset, 'Hist. de la Lit. Grecque,' I., ch. v., vi. A. Kirchhoff, 'Homerische Odyssee,' bisects the poem at xiii. 187 (see note). Other reconstructions (Wilamowitz, Seeck) reduce it to an amalgamation from different 'sources,' like the Hesiodic 'Theogony'; see Prof. Perrin's account of these schemes in the 'American Journal of Philology,' VIII. 4, and Mr. A. Lang's criticism of the former, 'Homer and the Epic,' ch. x., xii.

the suitors. A dramatic plot was introduced through the opposition of Athene and Poseidon, and the blinding of the Kyklops, whom Odysseus discovers to be the son of the sea-god, when he is sent to consult the seer Teiresias in Hades. In this new set of adventures, with which the old was linked, the route was traced clearly enough from the neighbourhood of the Troad to Libya, and perhaps to Corfu. The narrative was made compact by framing it as a recital in the first person. The structure, however, was loose, and episodes (II.) were engrafted, *e. g.* the Phaiakian games, for which a day was added. The description of Hades was probably first enlarged at this stage.

The *later* 'Odyssey': (III.) Telemachos (already in the poem) was made the subject of lays describing a journey to Pylos and Sparta, undertaken in the strength of his nascent manhood. The interest here is chiefly extraneous, and some re-casting was necessary; Athene had to be re-introduced as Mentor, and an ambushade of the suitors was put in, with sundry interpolations and episodes in a strangely light vein (the lay of Ares in the net, the coquetting of Penelope). The geography is occasionally more accurate. (IV.) An editor re-composed the opening scene, and added a few other passages, *e. g.* a description of the slain suitors in Hades.

In all except the latest strata both poems are instinct with dramatic imagination, and rich in ethical portraiture. The earlier 'Odyssey' exhibits a certain kinship in dramatic genius with the 'Achilleid,' but

its pathetic tone is more like that of the 'continuation.' It was laid out from the first on a larger plan, so as to display the complex character of its hero, who is not so much a special type as an embodiment of Greek manhood, resourceful and self-possessed, indomitable in enterprise and shrewdness. Penelope too—though the Thetis and Andromache of the 'Iliad' are otherwise fairly comparable with her—was raised to a level with her husband by the exquisite portrayal of all those traits which made her what the motive of the poem required, the wife after his heart. The story of this sailor-hero, whom no Ionian house claimed, was taken up for its own sake when enough had been done with the old legendary material, and freely fashioned in brilliant imaginative studies of men and manners. The new generation reflected in this many-sided epic comedy was slightly more advanced in material wealth, while the language¹ of the poem, corresponding with the later 'Iliad,' indicates a growth of thought which finds expression likewise in a larger but somewhat constrained and artificial view of the gods.

When the afterglow of the Achaian civilization was spent, and the realities of Ionian commerce and politics had effaced these dreams of the heroic past, the rising Hellenic cities commissioned many more poets, who linked their founders' names with the Trojan, the Theban, and other legends of the earlier age. These

¹ For linguistic and metrical differences see D. B. Monro, 'Homeric Grammar.' The number of abstract nouns in *-sune*, *-ia*, *-tus* is in the 'Iliad,' 39, in the 'Odyssey,' 81.

epics of the 'Cycle,'¹ though they had little character, distended as they were with crude 'history,' and adulterated with new-fangled moralizing myths, yet furnished material which was to be quickened in the personal lyric poetry and matured in the Attic drama, when the ripe Hellenic genius brought to its fulfilment that loving cult of Humanity, which was born with the Achaian epic, and had outlived its fresh vigour and simplicity in these quasi-literary imitations.

¹ See notes on 'Il.' xxiv. (end), 'Od.' iii. 102 ff. As these poems were popularly ascribed to Homer, and Pindar, 'Nem.' ii. 2, speaks of 'Homerid' bards (the rhapsodists of his own time), the name 'Homeros' has been explained as a mere coinage, representing a 'fraternity' or guild, or (as Fick suggests) the 'fraternizing' of the earlier with the later Achaian immigrants at Smyrna; there may have been, he thinks, a festival in memory of this, entitled 'Homeria.' It is more likely that 'Homeros' ('follower'?) was the real name of the poet who first launched the Trojan theme. Cf. Wilamowitz, p. 378.—The 'titles' cited in the next two chapters date from the early stage of public recitations. They are gleaned chiefly from Eustathius and a short list preserved in Aelian V. H. See Christ, 'Ilias,' proleg. The arbitrary division in 24 books (corresponding to the letters of the Ionic alphabet) is probably later than Aristotle.

CHAPTER III

THE 'ILIAD'

i. 1—ii. 51 (I.).

Sing, Muse, the baneful wrath of Peleus' son
Achilles, whence was misery untold
Wrought for the Achaeans, heroes' doughty souls
Full many flung to Hades and themselves (4)
Despoiled of dogs and every fowl ; for Zeus
Would bring to pass his counsel from that hour
Wherein the son of Atreus, king of men,
And proud Achilles fell at variance.

Apollo (9) sent a plague upon the Achaian host, because they had taken captive the daughter of

i. 9. Apollo is throughout the leading champion of Troy : as he heads the final Trojan assault, and mercilessly strikes down Patroklos (xvii.), so here, at the outset, the fatal quarrel is brought about by his intervention. The reason of his partisanship is not explained, but rather confused, by the moralizing myth about his bondage to Laomedon (xxi. 444) and building of the city wall. He was, for the poet, a god who, having of old befriended the Asiatic Trojans and Lykians, had forsaken his favoured people and resigned Troy to the Greeks. The motive is surely clearer, if the Greeks already possessed the

Chryses his priest (11) ; and when Chryses would have redeemed her, Agamemnon denied him, though he came as a suppliant with the god's chaplet (15) on his golden staff. Wherefore the priest called for vengeance :

Hear me, O Smintheus (39), thou of the silver bow,
Guardian of Chryse and holy Cilla, lord
Of Tenedos ! If e'er, to do thee grace,
I roofed a shrine or burned fat thighs of bulls
And goats, vouchsafe this favour : may thy shafts
Requite the guilty Danaans for my tears !

Asiatic lands in fact and not merely in anticipation. 11. Lit. 'one who prays': this term discloses that regular traditional forms of prayer were part of the temple ritual. 15. A wreath of white wool worn by the priest (or placed on the image?) ; now, being a suppliant (Aisch. 'Eumen.' 44), he carries it wrapped round his staff. 39. Though the solar origin of Apollo may be attested, *e. g.* by his other name Phoibos (iv. 101), he is entirely dissociated from the sun in Homer (cf. xxiii. 189). Yet his 'silver bow' (and 'golden sword,' v. 509) may have been suggested to earlier poets by the sun's rays, like the title Hekatos ('far-darting'). Roscher regards him as having been a deity common to the Greeks and Italians (Phoibos = Mars from *smar*, 'to shine') representing the sun indirectly, viz. in its effects on the earth, and consequently a pastoral god (Nomios) ; whence his rustic festival in the 'Odyssey' (xiv. 162, xix. 307) with the peaceful contest of the bow, a reminiscence of his earliest aspect. Hence, he thinks, it is in his pastoral character that we have the god in this scene sending a plague on the Greek cattle. It is clearly a fresh feature in the story. 'Smintheus' is from *sminthos*, a vole or field-mouse. The name has been explained as a simplified form = 'mouse-destroyer.' But to a Greek it would, no doubt, signify 'mouse-god.' Hence Mr. Lang ('Myth, Ritual and Religion,' ch. 17) argues that Apollo had replaced a real (Pelagic) mouse-god, the *totem* of a tribe which worshipped field-mice as their kinsfolk. The primitive worship may have been rationalized by associating Apollo with the vole as its

Apollo heard : for nine days he smote mules and dogs (50) and men. Then Kalchas (69) the augur, son of Thestor, counselled the king to give back Chryseis ; and so much he yielded :

destroyer, while the animal yet retained a kind of sanctity as dedicated to him. It is still one of the worst plagues in Greece. (Mr. Warde Fowler, 'Classical. Rev.' VI., conjectures that the vulture, hawk, raven, etc., were consecrated to this god because they prey on field-vermin.) Roscher traces the title directly to the sun-god as controller of the fields. It is significant in any case that the cult of 'Smintheus' and his festival, the 'Sminthia,' though found elsewhere (*e.g.* in Rhodes), prevailed especially in Aeolis ; field-mice were there actually worshipped and kept in the temples of Apollo, *e.g.* at Hamaxitos, which was probably an old Aeolian colony ; he appears with the mouse on coins of Tenedos and Alexandria Troas. Hence the title would naturally occur to an Asiatic Greek, and it would be appropriately put in the mouth of the Trojan priest.—Killa : an Aeolian city of the southern Troad on the bay of Adramyttion. Chryse (whence the personal names Chryses and Chryseis) was probably in the same district. Compare Briseis (184), Briseus, from Bresa in Lesbos. The *local* names are probably from earlier lays concerning these incidents.—'Roofed' : the word indicates a simple wooden shrine covered with thatch. *Naos* ('shrine'), according to Schrader, first denoted a sacred tree-trunk hollowed (*cf. naus*, a boat, hollowed log) to receive the image : the trees of the primitive temple-grove served a similar purpose till the shrine was provided.—50. Baggage-mules and camp-dogs : observe that the poet spares the horses. 69. Kalchas, who guided the ships to Troy by his sooth-saying, had his skill from Apollo. It is perhaps an argument in favour of Roscher's theory of this god's origin, that augury was specially important among the Greeks and Italians. It had a minor place in the religion of the Germans (Tacitus, 'Germ.' 10), but was not in vogue among the other Aryan nations. Apollo, he conjectures, gave his first oracles through birds in the

Full fain am I
 To house this woman with me ; liefer she
 Than Clytemnestra, mine espoused (114) wife,
 As good in form and favour, and in wit
 And handiwork. Yet, if 'twere better done,
 I will restore her. I would rather choose
 The folk did live than perish. But forthwith
 Find me another meed : 'twere ill that I,
 I only of the Argives, went unguerdoned,
 And look ye all, my prize is gone from me.

Now Briseis (184) was the prize of Achilleus, and Agamemnon demanded her instead of the other maiden. Thereon Achilleus, in his wrath, would have drawn his sword on the king, and thus he answered :

Wine-sodden blusterer ! Dog-faced, doe-hearted !
 Thou niggardest thy valour at the bruit
 Of arms and blenchest when thou shouldst adventure
 With us Achaean earls in ambuscade.
 Oh, that were horrible to thee as death !
 Better avails thee to embezzle a gift
 From any warrior of us all in leaguer
 Who will gainsay thee. Liegemen hast thou none
 But nidd'rings that obey thee, sceptred wolf !
 Or else, O King, this ravin were thy last.

But Athene (194) checked him ; howbeit he swore by the sceptre (234) that he would fight for them no more, though many should perish for need of him. When Nestor (247), king of Pylos, had discoursed

form of weather-signs. 114. (Cf. xxiii. 141.) This insolent speech throws a strong light on Agamemnon's character : his selfishness has a coarse tinge of sensuality. 247. He tells how he had fought for the Lapithai against the 'brutes of the mountain caves' : these *pheres* (Aeol.) are the Kentaurs (cf. 'Od.' xxi. 295), but as yet they are merely savages (of a lower conquered race, like the

and counselled peace, Achilleus with Menoitios' son (307) returned to his tent, and thither went the king's heralds, Talthybios (320) and Eurybates, and took away Briseis; while Odysseus embarked with twenty oarsmen and conveyed Chryseis to her home, and the Achaians purified themselves in the sea (313) and sacrificed bulls and goats to Apollo. Achilleus went down to the seashore and besought Thetis, his mother, that she would entreat Zeus, for the service she had done him (403), to punish the Achaians with defeat. [Meanwhile, Odysseus landed at Chryse and restored the maiden; so the plague was stayed. They feasted there and sang a pæan (473) to Apollo, 430-94 (IV.).] Now Thetis, after twelve days, went and made her prayer to Zeus; he consented, and assured his promise with a nod:

Râkchasas of the Hindu epic). In the 'Shield of Herakles' (190) their rude wooden spears are contrasted with those of the fully armed Lapithai. The name (perhaps originally from *kontos*, a wooden pike) would be easily confounded with the Homeric *kentor* ('goader' of horses); hence, perhaps, the transition to the half-equine Centaur. 307. That is, Patroklos: perhaps interpolated. In any case it need not be inferred that Patroklos and the story of his death as actuating Achilleus' revenge had already been made familiar by earlier poets. 313. By washing in the sea; no priest assists in this symbolic purification. (Cf. 1 Sam. vii. 6.) 320. The ancestor of a Spartan family of heralds (Herod. vii. 134). 403. She had called Briareos (the 'strong') to her aid against a coalition in Olympos: perhaps borrowed from a myth in which Thetis had a *sea*-giant for her ally, as the name of Briareos 'among men' is Aigaion, the 'stormy' (cf. 'Aegean' sea from Aigai, the 'cape of storms'). The giant is here the son of Poseidon, in the 'Theogony' (149) the son of Ouranos. 473. 'Paieon' is a 'hymn' (Mr. Wharton com-

The lord Kronion spake and bent on her
 His darkling brow ; and lo ! the ambrosial locks
 Shook with the sway of that immortal head,
 And huge Olympus quaked.

Here was aware of their consulting, and she was grieved for the Achaians ; but Zeus silenced her chiding with threats, and Hephaistos, the halt-foot, told how he was punished (594) before when he took her part. So the Olympians feasted together, Hephaistos pouring the nectar from left to right (597), while the Muses sang in alternation (604) to Apollo's lyre.

pares O. Slav. pěti, 'sing') of thanksgiving : cf. xxii. 391. The title of Apollo used here, *Hekatergos* ('repeller' of evil), was perhaps part of the refrain. But this appropriation of the pæan is un-Homeric. The libation is strangely placed *after* the drinking. 528. As Zeus bows his head in assent ('which is the surest token among the immortal gods'), the long locks roll down on either side of his brow. The famous chryselephantine statue of Olympian Zeus by Pheidias was modelled on this description. 594. He was hurled from the heavenly threshold and fell on Lemnos, where he was tended by the Sintians ('marauders,' the Pelasgic or Thrakian inhabitants : cf. Hellanikos, fr. 112). This is the first hint of the cult of Hephaistos in connection with volcanoes (*e.g.* Etna). Gaseous exhalations from Moschylos, suggesting the presence of the fire-god, gave rise to the idea that the sky-god had thrown him down there from the Thessalian Olympos across the Aegean Sea. 597. That is, of the company : 'Od.' iii. 340. This was the lucky direction : compare the Scottish *widdersins* = 'in the contrary direction,' *i.e.* not the way of the sun (*deiseil*). 604. Chanting successively (as the rhapsodists did). They sang, we may suppose, the 'story' of the gods in 'epic' fashion. The association of Apollo with the Muses and minstrelsy appears 'Od.' viii. 488, and more dogmatically in the Hesiodic 'Theogony' (94) : 'bards and minstrels (kitharists) appear on earth by the will of the Muses

And they returned to their houses. (ii.). That night Zeus sent a baleful dream (6) to Agamemnon in the likeness of Nestor, tempting him to give battle, for that the city of the Trojans was doomed. Therefore, at dawn, the king bade the heralds summon the Achaians—

ii. 52–86 (V.). To an assembly. But first he met the councillors. To them he told the dream, but said that he would make trial of the people by feigning a purpose of flight.

ii. 87–441 (II. A). The host gathered like a swarm

and the far-darting Apollo.' Cf. xxiv. 63, where the god is simply the counterpart of the minstrel at the feast (the marriage of Peleus and Thetis). The clue may be found in the affinity between the Muse as 'reminding' the poet (informing him of the past) and Apollo's oracular office: he tells Kalchas of 'what has been and what is,' as well as of 'what shall be.' ii. 6. As dreams were sent from the gods to guide men (or to mislead, as here), there were special 'dream-seers' (i. 63). The later development of this was the dream-oracle, for which see Miss J. E. Harrison, 'Mythol. and Monuments of Ancient Athens,' on Asklepios, etc.

ii. 52 ff. In the original poem, according to Mr. Leaf, the Dream was followed by the arming for battle, etc. (l. 442 ff. and xi.), its natural sequel; when the poem was enlarged, the Assembly was fitted in l. 51 ('battle' altered to 'assembly'), and here Agamemnon was introduced in his *desponding* mood (as ix. 28, xiv. 80): to rectify this discrepancy the Council was afterwards put in, the king's craven speech thus becoming a pretence. It is argued, on the other side, that it was natural for Agamemnon to make such a feint by way of testing the soldiers' courage. But (1) the poet would have given some clear indication of this, and (2) the scanty Council scene (52–86) has all the appearance of a makeshift.

87 ff. This description of the Greek *agora* (general assembly)

of bees that stream from the cleft of a rock and cluster among the flowers of spring. The king spake before them, leaning on the sceptre of the Pelopids (101). Nine years of Zeus, he said, were past, and the Trojans

and the previous council of the chiefs may be compared with the corresponding Teutonic institutions described by Tacitus ('Germania,' xi.); likewise the similar arrangement of the Greek and German soldiery, the former by clans and tribes, the latter by clans ('Germ.' vii.). The Greek clan (*phratría* = 'brotherhood,' cf. Slav. *bratstvo*) is identical with the German; both were 'brotherhoods' (founded on male agnatic kinship), and the clansmen fought similarly side by side. Compare Nestor's saying (ix. 63): 'He who setteth his own people at strife hath nor *clan* nor law nor hearth.' But as the German clans were still firmly held together by the tie of common land-tenure (Caesar, 'B. G.' vi. 22; cf. Schrader, 'Pre-hist. Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples,' p. 289) and by the unmitigated rule of revenge, so the freemen composing them retained an independence which the individual Achaian had all but lost with the weakening of those ties: the German king was listened to 'more because he had influence to persuade than because he had power to command'; the people interrupted him with clamour, if they dissented. In the Homeric age the power had passed from the clans to the princes; these are called 'elders' (*gerontes*), though only in name and not as lords of families, or 'elders of the *demos*' (iii. 149; cf. xi. 372), a term which recalls the 'patriarch' of the village community. On the other hand, the tribal union has grown up: in the *phulon*, based on the *phratría*, we have the beginning of the Ionian and Athenian organization. The motive of the whole description is thoroughly aristocratic. Odysseus reminds the commoner that he is 'a weakling, of no account in battle or in council; a multitude of rulers is no good thing.' The demagogue, who reviles Agamemnon, is the contemptible hunchback 'Thersites' (from *thersos* = *tharsos*, 'audacity'), whose base birth is indicated by a mis-shapen head (*phoxos*, pointed or warped?) 101. Delivered by Zeus himself through

still prevailed, albeit they were fewer, for their allies were many; Zeus had forsaken the Achaians; it was time to flee with the ships. Thereupon the assembly was stirred as the Ikarian sea (145) by the strong Zephyr. They were rushing to clear the trenches (153) and launch the galleys. But Athene came and moved Odysseus to restrain them. To the captains he spake gently, saying that the king was but making trial; the common sort he rebuked roughly, and chastised Thersites (212) for his railing with a blow of the sceptre. Nestor gave his counsel that the soldiery be marshalled thenceforth by tribes (362) and clans. They sacrificed to divers gods, and Agamemnon, with the greater chiefs, offered a steer to Zeus and prayed for victory.

ii. 442-83 (I.). He bade the heralds summon the Achaians to battle; Athene went among them, arousing them with her aegis. They flocked together like the geese and cranes and swans on the Asian mead (461) by the stream of Kaÿstros.

Hermes to Pelops; this heirloom gave the king his title to rule over 'all Argos and many islands.' The sceptre was the symbol of antiquity and of the justice which depended on tradition (*themistes*): hence the momentous declaration of Achilleus' wrath (i. 239) is enforced by an oath sworn on the 'public' sceptre, and the dramatic action of throwing the sceptre itself on the ground. 145. The small island Icarie, near Samos, had given its name to this part of the Aegean (off the Ionian coast). Other parts of the Aegean had acquired local names, *e. g.* the 'Thrakian sea' (xxiii. 230). 153 In their wild hurry the soldiers begin clearing the accumulated sand from the trenches, where the ships were drawn ashore and propped with stones or stays (*hermata*). 461. The selection of this locality (the 'Asian'

ii. 484-785 (IV., V.). *Catalogue of the Greek ships.*

ii. 786-877 (IV.). Hektor likewise assembled the host of Priamos and all his allies by Batieia, which the gods call Myrine's tomb (814).

The Trojan Catalogue.

iii. 1-14 (II. A).

So trooped the captains with their soldiery :
The Trojans shrieked and shouted as they went
With clamour like the noising of the cranes
Upon the welkin, when they fly apace
From winter's onset and the mighty rain
Toward the streams of Ocean, harbingers
Of bloody death unto the Pigmy (6) tribe,
And shrill their angry challenge high in air :
The Achaeans marched all silent, breathing valour,
Intent to succour every man his mate.

iii. 15—iv. 219 (II. B). Now Alexandros the bowman stepped forth and delivered a challenge by the mouth of Hektor : he would fight singly with Menelaos, and the victor should take the lady Helene with her wealth, and the Achaians return in peace. While the heralds

valley of the Kaÿstros below Mt. Tmolos in Lydia), especially in a simile, distinctly implies that the poet was an inhabitant of Asia Minor. 814. Probably the Amazon (cf. iii. 189) after whom Smyrna was named. (For the Catalogues see ch. i.)

iii. 6. The knowledge of this dwarfish tribe ('pigmy' = 'fistlings') must have come to the Greeks (in Asia Minor) through the Phoenicians, who saw or heard of them in their quest for African ivory. The cranes in their annual southward migration were imagined as going to fight with them. 15. Mr. Leaf holds that this duel, with the 'Breaking of the Oaths' (iv.), was introduced later than that between Hektor and Aias (vii.), and that the allusion to the former (vii. 69-72) was interpolated as a con-

made ready, Iris (121) went in the likeness of Laodike to fetch Helene, and found her at the loom, weaving a purple mantle of double fold (126) and pictures therein of the warfare. So Helene donned her veil of fine linen (141), and repaired with her two bower-women to the Skaian gate, weeping; for she was smitten with longing for her home. There sat seven elders of the people (145) with Priamos, and talked (152) together:

'Tis small reproach that we of Troy and they,
 Achaea's well-greaved soldiery, should suffer
 Long years of trouble for yon woman's sake:
 She hath the very semblance of a goddess.
 Go to! For all her beauty, let her hie
 Hence in their ships nor linger here, the plague
 Of us and of our children after us.'
 But Priam spake aloud and called to her:
 'My daughter, come and take thy seat before me,
 And view thy former spouse and friends and kinsmen.
 I blame not thee, but hold the gods to blame.
 'Tis they who have arrayed the Achaean host
 And brought the grievousness of war upon me' . . .

necting link. 121. Iris is the gods' ordinary messenger; for important embassies or for escort Zeus sends Hermes. Her name is borrowed from the rainbow (a water-spirit, originally Siris, cf. Seiren, Roscher s. v.), itself a portent (xvii. 547). 126. The Asiatic Greeks had begun to copy the Phrygian and Lydian embroidery, of which we have a later imitation in the vase-paintings with variegated friezes of animals, sphinxes, rosettes, etc. (British Mus. Catalogue, first Vase-room, § 11). The mantle being folded double would show one frieze above the other. The pattern is not, however, embroidered, but inwoven on the crimson ('purple') web, apparently by inserting tufts of differently coloured wool as a modern Indian weaver does: see Mr. Leaf's 'Companion.' 141. *Othonai*, fine linen, imported through the Phoenicians; the word is Semitic (cf. Hebr. 'ētūn, Prov. vii. 16). It

Then answered Helen, queen of womankind :
 'Awful art thou to me and worshipful,
 My lord's sire, whom I love. Would I had set
 My soul upon black death, or ere I followed
 My son, forsaking mine own bower, my kindred,
 My darling girl and lovely maiden mates !
 That might not be, and I must weep and pine.'

He marvelled at the multitude of the Achaians ;
 they were more than the hosts of Otreus and Mygdon,

is mentioned xviii. 595, and 'Od.' vii. 107, not elsewhere. 152. They are likened to tree-cricket chirping with a 'lily (delicate) voice': the epithet (from *leirion*, a loan-word, cf. Persian *lâleh*, tulip) appears again xiii. 830 ('lily' skin).—The scene is very remarkable for brilliant portraiture, *e.g.* the studied description of Odysseus (210) as an ambassador: before speaking he stood still, looking down and clutching the sceptre, like any dullard or churlish wight; but none might compare with him when he uttered his great voice from his chest and the words fell fast as snowflakes. There are intentional contrasts (*e.g.* Menelaos' easy but dry oratory), and we have in Paris, the luxurious Phrygian gallant, a characteristic half-foreign type like the Phaiakian Alkinoos. There is pathos and subtlety in the presentation of Helen with Priam and with Aphrodite. Her personality is not interfered with by any trace of heroizing myths (cf. xxiv. 28; 'Od.' xi. 300 ff.). Though she is a 'child of Zeus,' she is not, as in the 'Kypria,' a daughter of the allegorical Nemesis, a mere puppet in the hands of Aphrodite, and an instrument of the gods to punish Troy and reduce the population of the earth! She is simply the grand lady of Sparta, whose supreme beauty made her perilously liable to the goddess' charm (xiv. 216). A few fine realistic touches reveal the character which succumbed to this fascination. She is vacillating like Paris himself. While she pettishly taunts and upbraids him, she is yet drawn to him of herself enough to have a womanly intuition of alarm for his safety (433). She can speak and feel as his wife (for such she is in Trojan eyes) when his honour is challenged

which were assembled of yore with the Trojans in the plain of Sangarios to war against the Amazons (189). She told him of the chiefs whom they saw, Agamemnon, Odysseus (210), Aias and Idomeneus (230); but her brethren, Kastor and Polydeukes, were dead in Lakedaimon. When the two kings had ratified the covenant with a sacrifice of lambs to Zeus and Earth and Helios, Paris armed him and drew the first lot; but his spear failed, and Menelaos would have slain him: howbeit Aphrodite rescued him in a dark mist and wafted him to his chamber, and summoned Helene

(vi. 351). The supernatural influence, which she felt and inspired, left her will free; nor did Paris 'capture' her (444) by force. Hence there is a motive for her impulses of self-reproach and for the sudden 'sweet longing' for her home, which Iris awakens. It is her conscience which makes her fear that her brothers have stayed away from shame on her account. There is room too for Priam's chivalrous indulgence. He blames the gods, not her, and his complaint against them is only that of an old man long acquainted with heaven-sent suffering. Some details in the description of the lists are strikingly realistic: the chariots drawn up in ranks, the spectators leaning on their shields, the spears stuck in the ground. 189. Greek legends, which originated during the first colonization of Asia Minor, traced the Amazons from Thrace to the banks of the Thermodon. The tomb of one (Myrine) was shown in the Troad (ii. 814); Smyrna was named after her, and likewise part of Ephesos (Samornia). Prof. Sayce ('Herodotos,' app. 4) argues from the correspondence of the Amazon in early Greek art with the supposed Hittite sculptures at Boghaz Keui and Eyuk in the region of the Thermodon—the double-headed axe being the chief evidence—that these warrior-women were in reality armed priestesses of the Hittite goddess best known as Kybele (xxiv. 614). 230. Diomedes is not noticed. Lachmann argues, in support of his theory of 'lays' originally disconnected, that the Greek chiefs

to his couch. She discerned the goddess' fair neck and winsome bosom and the sheen of her eyes (396), and defied her awhile :

Out on thee, witch ! Fie on thy cozening !
 What ! must I gad with thee to some fair town
 Of Phrygia or of sweet Maeonia,
 If thou hast other of thy minions there ?
 Or, because Paris' pride hath met defeat
 And Menelaus looks to carry home
 Me, his vile forfeiture, appearest thou
 And sliely wilt supplant me ? Nay, then, go
 And seat thee by his side : renounce the path
 Of Heaven, nor ever let thy feet return
 Toward Olympus, but annoy thyself
 For him and ward him, till he make of thee
 His leman or mayhap his bondwoman !

Yet she was cowed by the goddess' threatening, and followed. And Agamemnon meanwhile demanded her

must *now* have been well known to Priam. 396. She is disguised as a Spartan wool-comber. The story itself would lead the poet to make Aphrodite a champion of Troy ; but he may have found a local reason also in some neighbouring cult or tradition, whether of the Teukrians or the Leleges. Since the adjacent Lemnos had long before received its name from the Phoenicians (Semitic *libnah*, 'lustre,' cf. Samos, from *samâ*, 'height'), and the name of the Tyrian Melkarth (Makar) survived in Lesbos, the same people may have established their goddess Ashtoreth on Ida as in Kythera and elsewhere. 'Olshausen ('Hermes,' I4, 145 ff.) infers this from Astyra, a name which recurs in this locality (as well as on the Lykian coast, Et. Byzant. s. v. ; cf. Styra in southern Eubœia), and with which he connects *stuxar*, odorous gum ; Duncker, from Adramyttion = *Hadramut* (the vestibule of the under-world, in allusion to the malarious shore). A Phœnician leaven might be detected even in the cult of Helen as a tree-goddess (*dendrîtis*, cf. Theokr. xviii.) in Rhodes (Pausan. iii.

of the Trojans according to the covenant. (iv.) Now Zeus spake before the gods in malice, as though he would spare Ilios. Here answered in umbrage : Let him not undo her work ; rather would she that he destroyed the three cities most dear to her, even Argos and Sparta and Mykenai (52). So Athene sped, at her desire, with charge to renew the battle ; down to the earth she swept like a falling star. With intent that the truce might be broken by the Trojans, she took the likeness of a man and tempted Pandaros the Lykian (88) ; he prayed to Apollo (101), and took aim at

19, 10), if it indicates the worship of the grove. At the same time the Homeric Aphrodite in herself, like the Homeric Helen, is wholly Greek and 'human.' iv. 52. Fick reads in this a regretful allusion to the dispossession of the Achaians by the Dorian conquest. 88. The people of Pandaros are the northern or 'Trojan' (v. 200) branch of the Lykians (Leka) dwelling in the Troad (Zeleia) below Mt. Ida. The southern Lykians (between the Solymoi and the Karians) are represented by Glaukos (vi.) and Sarpedon (xii., xxi.). 101. Apollo is described by an ambiguous title formed from the root *luk*, with termination meaning 'born' : the root may signify either 'wolf' or 'light' (cf. *amphiluke*, twilight : 'Od.' xix. 306). As it occurs only here in connection with the 'Lykian' Pandaros (v. 105), some ancient authorities gave it a local meaning ('Apollo born in Lykia,' *i. e.* at Xanthos), which is unlikely, though the Greeks no doubt interpreted the name of the land of the Leka, when they established the worship of Apollo there, as derived from his surname Lukios. 'Wolf-born' is possible only if some wolf-worshipping people merged their beast-god with Apollo (cf. i. 39). The other derivation, 'child of light,' makes the epithet equivalent to Phoibos ('shining') ; cf. Lit. *žibėti* : this, however, is otherwise explained 'healer,' cf. L. *feb-ruus* or Sanscr. *bhṛ̥śajā-*. It is hazardous to connect the name Apollon (Doric *Apellon*) with a supposed ancient name for the sun pre-

Menelaos with his bow of ibex-horn (105) and smote him. But she easily waved the iron-headed arrow aside, as a mother waves a fly from her sleeping child, and guided it to the place where the golden buckles of the belt were clasped and the twofold armour encountered it; there it struck and pierced through belt [and cuirass] and mitra (137), and grazed the skin, so that the thigh was reddened as ivory when

served in the Keltic Belenis (Beal), a sun-god whom Caesar identified with Apollo ('B. G.' vi. 17, Auson. 'Prof. Burdig.' 5). But the origin of the name is disputed, like that of the god. L. v. Schröder (Kuhn's 'Zeitschr.' xxi.) connects him with the Vedic god of sacrificial fire, Agni (*saparyênya*, 'who is to be honoured'), Mr. Gladstone ('Landmarks') with the Babylonian Merodach (on the ground of his benevolent attributes as god of healing, etc., and his filial obedience and ministry to Zeus; but the latter are post-Homeric traits). Fröhde interprets 'crier,' lord of the *agora*, Doric *apella*, cf. Latin (ad)pellare. 105. We have an incidental picture of the hunter in ambush shooting from below and the 'wild goat' (ibex) struck in the breast, falling backward on the rock. The two enormous horns of sixteen palms' length (cf. Hesiod, 'Works,' 426) were fitted together with a metal piece (xi. 375), smoothed by the 'worker in horn' and tipped with gold. 137. Except in 'late' sections (*e. g.* xi. 1-55), the allusions to a *metal* cuirass are afterthoughts, and often make confusion: see W. Reichel, 'über Homerische Waffen.' It is not noticed below, where the arrow is extracted. That cuirass consisted of breast-plate and back-plate, between which a missile might penetrate, if it glanced sideways (iii. 358, interpolated). But here we may restore the old meaning, 'armour.' The belt was of leather, which is dyed crimson (vi. 219), but plated with metal and 'glistening,' see *e. g.* an ancient pinax from Kameiros (British Mus., first Vase-room, table-case C). The *mitra*, which finally breaks the force of the arrow here, is either a plated apron like the *pterugion*, usually made

it is stained with purple (141), but at length its force was spent, and Machaon healed the wound with simples that Cheiron had made known to his sire, Asklepios (219).

iv. 220-421 (II. C). Then Agamemnon set the army in array and encouraged the chiefs, praising Idomeneus and Meriones the Kretans and either Aias, rallying Menestheus the Athenian and Odysseus, reminding Diomedes of his sire, Tydeus, who vanquished the

of strips of leather overlaid with metal, or a metal band protecting the body below the waist, of which Helbig has found specimens in early Italian tombs; probably the latter, since it is 'wrought by the copper-smith' (216), and is coupled with the *zoma*, a doublet or apron of leather, plated likewise, and sometimes worn by itself ('Od.' xiv. 482). The (southern) Lykians are curiously distinguished (xvi. 419) as 'wearing no mitra.' The word appears to be Phrygian (cf. Lit. *muturas*, cap). 219. Cheiron ('skilled hand'?) in the old Thessalian legend played the ordinary part of the hero's instructor. He was the kind friend of Peleus, to whom he gave the mighty ashen spear from Mount Pelion (xix. 390). He is called here the most just of the Kentaurs: as these are the same as the 'wild men (*phêres*) of the mountain,' against whom Peirithoos fought (i. 247), the meaning of the epithet is that he was the one civilized man among the savages (cf. the Abioi, xiii. 5). His skill of hand consists in surgery, which he has taught to Asklepios as to Achilles (xi. 832). The worship of the former was established at Trike (Triikka, l. 202, and ii. 729) in western Thessaly, but there is no trace of the cult in Homer: he is simply a disciple of Cheiron, and his sons, Machaon and Podaleirios, though endowed with this special skill, are military chieftains, leaders of the men of Trike. The remedies are always 'simples,' except 'Od.' xix. 457, where an incantation is employed to staunch blood: but this may be a deliberate archaism.

Kadmeians. Nestor ordered the ranks skilfully, the footmen behind the horsemen and the weaker men between; he charged the horsemen to bide the foe in their chariots, as was done in the time of yore.

iv. 422—v. 122 (II. A). The Danaans moved to battle silently, advancing in their lines as the sea-waves that break on the coast, driven up by the west wind (423); the Trojan host rushed on with noise of divers tongues, led by Ares. First Antilochos slew the Trojan Echepolos, piercing his brow through the helmet-ridge (460); then Aias and Odysseus and Thoas the Aitolian slew other chiefs, albeit Apollo rallied the Trojans from his seat on Pergamos (508). The battle waxed fierce, as the Abantes and the scalp-locked (533) Thrakians fought over the bodies of their leaders. (v.) And Diomedes waxed very bold; for Athene was at his side and made his armour blaze bright as the autumn-star (5). The battle was turned against the Trojans; every Greek captain slew a man. Diomedes raged through the field like a torrent that sweeps over dykes and fences and tilth (92), albeit Pandaros wounded him with an arrow (99).

v. 123—133 (II. B). Athene took the mist from his

iv. 533. So the Suevi had their unkempt hair twisted back and knotted on the top of the head (Tacitus, 'Germ.' 38); but the Thrakians perhaps shaved part of the head, like the Euboian Abantes (ii. 542) with their 'hair flowing long behind.' v. 92. 'Works' (tilled fields); the title of Hesiod's poem. The dyke or causeway (embankment of a stream?) frequently serves as a metaphor for the mid-space between two armies in the field. 99. Through the back-plate, see iv. 137. Or 'the cavity of the shield' (Reichel).

eyes that he might behold the gods, but charged him not to fight against any save Aphrodite; then she departed (133).

v. 134-329 (II. A). When eight warriors had fallen, Pandaros discerned Diomedes by the fashion of his armour (182) and, with Aineias, dared an encounter; but Diomedes slew him, Athene guiding his spear (290), and Sthenelos seized the horses of Aineias, bred of them which Zeus gave unto Tros (265) in recompense for Ganymedes; Aineias himself was struck down, but Aphrodite saved him.

v. 330-431 (II. B). Now Diomedes descried Kypris (330) as she was bearing Aineias, her son, out of the

v. 123 ff. The assaults of Diomedes on Aphrodite and Ares are, according to Mr. Leaf, excrescences and by different hands: for Diomedes (vi. 128-9) has not the discernment ascribed to him here, and he is afraid of the gods; again, Athene is made to depart (l. 133), whereas she is at hand (l. 290), and the wounding of Ares is inconsistent with her advice to Diomedes (l. 123 ff.).

330. Aphrodite is called 'Kypris' only in this passage. The word is usually explained as 'Cyprian' in reference to the worship of the goddess in Cyprus (cf. 'Od.' viii. 362), and the name of the island derived from the Semitic (*kopher*, tree, Gk. *kuparissos*, cypress). It has been suggested that 'Kypris' was really an old Epirote name of an earlier and indigenous goddess, and that the island was named from it: is the word connected with the Italian (Sabine) word for 'good' (Varro de L. L. 5, § 159, 'cyprum Sabine bonum'), whence the ancient 'Cyprius vicus' in Rome (Liv. i. 48)? That Aphrodite was not indigenous, though thoroughly Graecized in Homer, is certain from her name ('Theog.' 195), and from the fact that she has no real place in Greek mythology: the Adonis myth is Semitic (cf. xviii. 570), or rather derived through the Phoenicians from the Accadian myth of Tammuz and Istar (Sayce, Herod. app. 3; cf. C. R. Conder, 'Altaic Hieroglyphs and Hittite Inscriptions').

battle ; and he wounded her in the hand with his spear, so that the blood [even the divine ichor, 340-2 (V.)] flowed forth. Then Apollo covered Aineias with a cloud, and Iris led Aphrodite to Ares, where he sat on the left of the battle (355) ; he carried the goddess in his chariot to Olympos. There Dione (370), her mother, tended and comforted her, telling how Ares once suffered likewise, when he was imprisoned for thirteen months in a bronzen jar by the sons of Aloeus (385), and how Here (392) and Hades (395) were wounded by Herakles.

Concerning this goddess tradition wavered, as though the poets did not know what to do with her. The 'Theogony' gives her no parents, and substitutes a 'learned' myth about her birth. Here she is the daughter of Zeus and Dione (370), who is not among the wives of Zeus in the Hesiodic 'Theogony,' but does appear among the great gods (proem 17 ; this, of course, may be a mere echo of Homer, but compare *ib.* 353). In the opinion of E. Curtius this Dione was a counterpart of the Asiatic 'mother of the gods' (Kybele) installed at Dodona, whence the priestesses there were called 'doves' (Herod. ii. 55), the dove being a symbol of fertility ; for Strabo tells us that she was worshipped by the side of Zeus, as a goddess of fertility, in several temples, but especially at Dodona. The name, however, being the feminine of Zeus (Dieus, cf. Diana=Di(v)âna), is rather evidence of a pre-Homeric cult. It is at least possible that Dione ('heavenly') and Kypriis ('good'?) were titles of obsolete deities, whom Here and the exotic Aphrodite had displaced. 340. 'Liquid,' *i. e.* blood (cf. 416), but imperishable. The author of this interpolation fancied *ambrotos*, 'immortal,' to mean 'bloodless.' 385. If Aloeus is the 'god of the threshing-floor,' and his sons' names, Otos and Ephialtes, allude to 'trampling' (the corn from the husk) and 'tossing' it (*i. e.* winnowing), the sense of this myth may be that the war-god was held in check for a year (thirteen months) by the friendly demons of agriculture.

432-626 (II. A). Diomedes still sought to slay Aineias in despite of Apollo, but the god made a wraith in his stead and wafted him to his sanctuary (446) in Pergamos, and sent him back fresh to the field; then he incited Ares against Diomedes, while Hektor and Sarpedon together rallied the Trojans (453).

v. 627-98 (V.). Now Tlepolemos, son of Herakles, fell by Sarpedon's hand; his sire had sacked Ilios of

But these etymologies are not certain, and the Aloeidai ('Od.' xi. 305 ff.) are wild, warlike fiends. It is not easy to suppose them tamed, like the Hesiodic Hekatoncheires. Mr. J. G. Frazer ('Classical Rev.' II.) suggests, what is much more probable, that the god was imagined as captured and carried to the battle-field by his satellites in the pot (or *pithos*) and there let loose. He compares the Roman ceremony of opening the temple of Janus in time of war (in order that the tribal god might go forth with the army), and the Hebrew custom of carrying the holy ark into battle.—The Homeric Ares ('harm') is a poetic creation, wholly distinct from the Ares of local European cults: *e.g.* at Thebes he was a jealous chthonic power, parent of the infernal dragon, from whose teeth sprang the noble brood of Kadmeians; there too he was married to Aphrodite ('Theog.' 934, after the Theban tradition), a relationship of which there is no hint in Homer (except perhaps 'Od.' viii. 274 ff.). The Ares of the 'Iliad' is a mere impersonation of the ferocious rage of battle, depicted as an armed giant hounding on either army. The Epic poets, however, made a present of him to the Trojans, and purposely opposed him to the Greek Athene. 392-5. A fragment of the myth of Herakles' descent to the Under-world in quest of Kerberos.

446. The inner temple (*adyton*) is mentioned only here. 453. The shields of the common soldiers are described here as 'shaggy (untanned) hides' and 'fluttering' (the ends hanging down). Such probably was the 'ægis' as first conceived.

yore, when Laomedon defrauded him of the horses, his recompense.

v. 699—vi. 72 (II. C). Meanwhile Athene with Here entered the battle in her chariot (722); about her shoulders was the tasselled ægis and the Gorgon's head thereon (741), and she put on her golden helmet,

722 ff. An idealized description of the chariot. The wheels have eight spokes, in place of four or six, as commonly represented in vase-paintings; but eight appear in the picture of a chariot-race on a sarcophagus recently discovered at Klazomenai ('J. H. S.' IV.): the wheels were necessarily small (about 30 inches in diameter?), to diminish the danger of upsetting in the field. The thick and heavy rim consisted of a wooden felloe (iv. 185, here of gold) protected by a bronze tire; the nave was of iron (here silver). The car (*diphros*, i. e. 'carrying two,' the combatant and the driver) was curved and open at the back; the breastwork is described here as 'wattled,' with interlacing bands of gold and silver in place of wickerwork (sometimes strengthened with leather thongs; compare the epithet 'well-knit,' xxiii. 335); the sides were, however, usually of wood ('smoothed') and faced with metal (bronze, gold, silver, tin, iv. 226, x. 438, xxiii. 503). The car rested apparently on the axle-tree, but it is uncertain what method there was (if any) of easing the motion and adjusting the weight on the yoke. In the Assyrian war-chariot (which was used also for hunting and for travelling, sometimes in mountainous districts) some arrangement for this purpose may be indicated by what looks like a second pole (as seen in profile) beneath the box. Cf. Mr. C. R. Durnford's note in the 'Athenæum,' 4th Aug., 1884. 741. The ægis (*aigis*) is a poetical embodiment of the 'rushing' storm-cloud with its jagged fringe (hence 'tasselled'), charged with the lightning-flash (Gorgo), and so appropriated to Zeus as sky-god. The primitive conception was varied by the poets and artists, who made it a metal shield (i. e. faced with metal, the work of Hephaistos, xv. 306), but still with a 'fringe,' or else a picturesque cape, the latter being suggested by the rude type

dight with champions (744) of a hundred cities. They left the chariot at the meeting of Skamandros and Simoeis (774). Here shouted to the Achaians with the voice of Stentor (783); Athene aided Diomedes unseen—for she donned the helm of Hades (845)—and he smote Ares in the belly; with a mighty roar the god fled aloft to Olympos, and Paieon (899) healed him of his wound. So the Argive host prevailed yet more.

vi. 73—vii. 312 (II. A). Wherefore Hektor took counsel with his brother Helenos, the augur (76), and bade Hekabe, his mother, go with the aged wives and

(453) with the aid of a popular etymology ('goat-skin'). The Gorgon's head was added to the shield in place of a terror-striking 'device': it does not appear in Greek art before the seventh or eighth cent. B. C. It was then associated with the legend of Medusa, but in Homer there is nothing to indicate this motive. The head here is only a picture, as on the cuirass of Agamemnon (xi. 36). 744. Cf. xi. 1 ff. 783. He is otherwise unknown to the 'Iliad.' 845. Compare the Tarnkappe of the 'Nibelungen Lied.' 899. 'Paieon' is the surgeon in Olympos, and the eponymous ancestor of physicians ('Od.' iv. 232). Fick compares *empaïos* ('skilful'), but the name may be derived from the healing incantation (see i. 473). Asklepios was an older Thessalian god, but in the 'Iliad' he is noticed merely as a 'noble leech,' and father of the two leeches, Machaon and Podaleirios (ii. 732, iv. 194): so in the 'Eoiai' he is only a 'master of men,' and in Pindar a 'hero' ('Pyth.' iii. 7) slain by Zeus. The explanation is that Apollo took his place, as he also displaced Paieon, in the Olympian religion, while the old cult of Asklepios the god (of the dream-oracle, cf. ii. 6) survived in European Greece, chiefly at Epidauros and Athens.

vi. 76. Helenos is a prince (son of Priamos and Hekabe), who chances to possess the gift of divination, like Theoklymenos ('Od.' xv. 256); he has an intuition of the gods' purposes, *e. g.*

present a gift (92) to Athene, and vow unto her a sacrifice of twelve unyoked heifers (94), if she would yet deliver the city. Now Diomedes encountered Glaukos the Lykian. He feared (129) awhile lest the other were a god [and he should fare as Lykourgos (131), whom Zeus blinded, because he harried the nymphs of Nysa, the nurses of Dionysos, 130-41 (V.)]. But Glaukos told his lineage (150); his father was Hippo-

vii. 45. The augurs and dream-interpreters are commonly professional (these are the seers who are reckoned among the 'public craftsmen,' 'Od.' xvii. 383). But Kalchas, the great soothsayer, is a noble (son of Thestor) and a warrior (xiii. 69). 92. A *peplos* to be laid on the knees of the goddess; the statue, which was thus decorated, was one of the primitive wooden images (*xoana*), which were preserved in temples: those of Athene (seated statues) were found, according to Strabo, especially in the Ionian cities, and would be familiar to the poet. The rock-cut image on Mt. Sipylos ('Il.' xxiv. 614) is seated, with the hands folded on the breast, the lap square and flat as though intended to receive offerings: see W. M. Ramsay, 'J. H. S.' III. Cf. the phrase, 'it lies on the knees of the gods' (xvii. 514), expressing resignation, when the issue has passed out of human hands. 94. Cf. Deuteron. xv. 19, 21. 129. Yet he has just encountered Ares! 131. King of the Edones; hence Nysa is the Thrakian mountain, but the name travelled everywhere with the god owing to a false etymology. Dionysos ('sky-stream'?) was an old rustic god (of the vine), too popular to be admitted to the Homeric Olympos. We have but a glimpse here of the numerous myths which helped to explain the Dionysiac orgies: the mænads repeated the part of the mountain-nymphs. Cf. L. Dyer, 'The Gods in Greece.' 150. The episode has a genealogical motive. The story of Bellerophon connects the noble families of Argos and Corinth with Lykia. The Argive Proitos (founder of Tiryns) sent him with a missive (written? p. 48) to his father-in-law (Iobates) in Lykia, containing

lochos, whose mother wedded Bellerophon, the grandson of Sisypheos, son of Aiolos. Then Diomedes hailed him as a guest-friend, for his father had entertained Bellerophon in his house, and they had exchanged gifts of friendship. So they parted, and Glaukos, in his witlessness, made exchange with him of golden armour for bronzes, the worth of a hundred beehives for the worth of nine (236). Hekabe went down to the treasure-chamber of the palace (243), where were kept brodered robes, the work of Sidonian serving-women (290); the fairest of these they laid on the knees of

instructions to kill him. So he was despatched to fight the Chimaira ('Theog.' 319,) the Solymoi, the Amazons. When he had frustrated all these designs by his prowess, the king gave him his daughter, and the people 'meted him a goodly demesne' (194). One of the children of this marriage was the mother of Sarpedon by Zeus. The kingdom descended to Sarpedon as the son of Bellerophon's daughter, not to Glaukos, son of his son Hippolochos: for in Lykia descent was through the mother (Herod. i. 173). Bellerophon's ancestor is 'Sisypheos,' son of 'Aiolos' (both mean 'crafty,' the latter perhaps a translation of the former). 243. Magnificence is given to the palace by making all the chambers of 'smoothed' stone and those in the courtyard 'roofed,' *i. e.* having flat serviceable roofs, in the Oriental fashion, contrasting with the ordinary sloping roofs of the verandahs. The chambers of Priam's married sons are *within* the house (behind the *megaron*, or part of an extended *prodomos*), those of the sons-in-law are opposite, on the side of the courtyard entered from the street, forming an 'outside' extension: this division recalls the old Aryan type of household, the joint undivided family (Schrader, *op. cit.* xii. § 3), but on the enlarged scale of Oriental polygamy; the simpler type is represented by Nestor's household ('Od.' iii.). 290. The poet sends Paris to Sidon on his way home from Greece; thence he brought these skilled weavers. The 'Sidonians' are the artificers (cf.

the goddess, and Theano, wife of Antenor, whom the Trojans appointed to be her priestess, spake a prayer. Now Hektor summoned Paris (316) from the bower, and as he returned, Andromache his wife met him at the Skaian gate (393), with their child Skamandrios, whom the people called Astyanax (402), and thus she spake, weeping :

'Dear heart, thy daring will be thy undoing.
No pity hast thou for thy child, nor me
Thy wife, alas ! too surely to be widowed.
For all the Achaean soldiery, dealing death,
Will gather against thee ; of my lord bereft
'Twere better I went down unto the grave.

xxiii. 743), the Tyrians the merchants. This allusion suggests an increasing Phoenician trade. The inference that the legend of Paris and Helen had a Phoenician origin is quite unwarrantable. 316. He finds him sulking : why ? Erhardt solves this difficulty by the conjecture that the Trojan debate (vii. 345 ff.), when he refused to give back Helen, originally came before this scene, following the duel iii. (end). The mansion of Paris is separate ; 'house' (= hall, *megaron*) and 'chambers' (*thalamos*) and 'courtyard.' 393. The name means 'left' or western. It was the great gate of the city, flanked by a tower (iii. 145) : the 'Dardan' gate (xxii. 194) appears to be the same. In the 'Interrupted battle' (viii. 58 = ii. 809) the phrase 'all the gates' (not 'the whole gate') occurs, implying a city of many gates. 402. Astyanax, 'defender of the city' = Hektor, 'keeper,' 'protector' : the father is commemorated in the son's name. Cf. Exod. ii. 22. (See Prof. Seymour's note, 'Classical Rev.' III.) 'Skamandrios,' after the local river-god, who had a priest of his own (v. 77) ; cf. Simoeisios, Idaios. 418. (Cf. note on 'Od.' xi. 74.) 419. There is a reminiscence of tree-worship here. 'Plakos' is a Phrygian name, associated with Kybele. vii. 85. To be burned, in the case of Hektor ; if the Greek falls, a barrow (cenotaph) will be built for him on the shore of the Hellespon

No help, no hope for me, but days forlorn
 When thou art fallen. Nor sire have I nor mother.
 My sire Eëtion by Achilles' hand
 Died, when he sacked the lofty-walled city,
 Our fair Cilician Thebè. Yet the slayer
 In reverence forbore to spoil the body,
 And burned it there in all its beauteous armour, (418)
 And reared a tomb of stone with barren elms (419)

and the body will be 'dried,' *i. e.* partially embalmed (and sent home). 175. No writing. 219. The shield is described here as 'tower-like,' and 'covering the man on both sides'; another epithet (xiii. 130) similarly implies, as Mr. Leaf explains it, a shield such as might be set firmly on the ground. A warrior trips against the rim of his own shield (xv. 646), where the epithet is quite plain ('reaching to the feet'). So is the description, vi. 117 f.: 'As he (Hektor) went, the rim of his bossèd shield beat on either side against his ankles and his neck.' A shield so large as this cannot have been circular. Nor is there evidence of the latter form, except in the disposition of the ornament on two shields in concentric circles (xi. 33, xviii. 481) and in bk. x.; but these are late episodes. The two words *aspis* and *sakos*, employed indifferently in Homer, once probably distinguished two kinds of shield, both of leather (with *aspis*, cf. *skutos*, hide, L. *scutum*; with *sakos*, Sk. *tvac*, skin). When bronze came into use, *aspis*, as the more specific term for the metal-faced shield, received the distinctive epithets 'symmetrical' and 'even' (applied to ships, 'well-trimmed'), while *sakos* remained as a general poetic term with epithets denoting size and strength. We must allow for poetical exaggeration in the picture of Hektor: his shield may be regarded as magnified to an heroic scale, like his spear ten cubits (fifteen feet) or eleven long! The archæological evidence is scanty, but we have evidence in the 'warrior' vase (Schnchhardt, figs. 284, 285) and others of the 'Dipylon' style that the Mycenaean shield became round in the transitional period (about B.C. 750?), while a large scutcheon-like or bipartite shield appears at an earlier stage, in the hunting-scene on the sword-blade (fig. 227): compare the designs on

Around it, planted by the mountain nymphs,
Daughters of Zeús, the mighty lord of the ægis.
And those my brethren seven all on one day
Perished and went together unto Hades ;
For swift Achilles slew them all a-herding
The lazy kine and sheep of lustrous fleece.
My mother captive with the spoil he carried
Far from her dwelling 'neath that wooded hill.
Then for an ample ransom he released her ;
But 'neath the shaft of Artemis she fell
There in her home. Thou only art left to me,
My Hector—thou my sire, my gracious mother,
My brother and my gallant spouse. Ah, pity !
Have pity upon me ; make not a widowed wife,
An orphaned child. Here tarry on the tower,
And stay thy soldiery by yonder fig-tree ;
For there the city is weak, the rampart open ;
There thrice the chiefs essayed and thrice attacked,
Led by the Atreidae and Tydeus' stalwart son,
And either Ajax and Idomeneus ;
Self-counselled haply and by mere valour spurred,
Or some prophetic lore had given them rede.'
Then Hector of the glancing helm replied :
' All these things, gentle wife, concern and touch me.
But sore the shame, before the men of Troy
And the long-kirtled Trojan dames, if I
Slink from the battle like some coward knave.
My heart refuses ; 'tis my will and wont
Ever to brave it in the Trojan front,
My father's goodly fame and mine exalting.
For all too well my boding heart presages,
The day is coming, when strong Troy shall perish,
Troy and her people and Priam of the ashen spear.
Yet less I rue the woe that is ensuing

gems (figs. 178, 281). But an oblong (convex) shield of equal size, resembling the old Italian *scutum*, appears side by side with the latter. A large 'tower-like' shield appears with Aias on coins of Salamis : this is possibly traditional.

For Troy and Priam the king and Hecuba,
And those my many brethren, brave and true,
Whom the enemy's deadly hands shall bring to dust—
To me is naught so rueful as thy plight,
A weeping prisoner in the iron grasp
Of some rude Greek, the robber of thy freedom.
And there, in Argos, will some stranger woman
Force thee to ply the loom and draw the water,
The water of Hypereia or Messéis,
'Gainst durance hard and cruel vainly chafing.
And they will say: "'Tis Hector's wife who weeps,
First of the champions of the leaguered city,
Bravest of all who tamed the steed at Troy."
How will such praises wring thy heart with grief,
Pining for him, thy Hector, to defend thee
From the dark hour of bondage. May the earth
Be mounded o'er my corse, ere I behold thee
Dragged to thy shame and hear thy helpless wailing!'. . .
He prayed aloud to all the lords of Heaven:
'Zeus and all gods, vouchsafe to this my boy
Pride of renown like mine among his people,
And strength of arm and puissant rule at Troy.
Oft may he bring, to joy his mother's heart,
The bloody spoil of champions slain in battle,
That they may call him "greater than his sire."'
And fondly stroking her wet cheeks he spake:
'Prithee, good lady, be not so heart-broken.
For no man shall deliver me to death
Before my hour, and never mortal born,
Coward or brave, has fled the place of doom.
Go now—'tis time—unto thy housewifery,
The distaff and loom, and charge thy maidens
To ply their handiwork apace; and we,
The men of Troy, and of all men born therein
I first will urge the business of the war.'

Then glorious Hector donned his crested helm,
And homeward went his well-belovèd wife.
Thick fell her tears, and oft her wistful eyes
Turned, till she reached her warrior's lordly hall,

And found her vassal women all assembled,
 And they with her, in mournful unison,
 Made moan for Hector even while he lived,
 As 'twere a house of mourning ; for they hoped not
 To greet him from the battle-field returning,
 Safe from the Achaeans' wrath and violence.

And Paris came prancing in his bright armour, like a stalled horse that has broken loose and gallops proudly on the plain (611). And the Trojans rejoiced to see them. (vii.) When three chiefs were slain, Athene and Apollo consented that the battle be stayed, and Helenos divined their intent. So Hektor [seeing that Zeus had defeated the former covenant, vii. 69-72 (V.)] challenged one of the Achaians to do battle with him ; the victor should take the other's armour but restore his body (85). So the warriors sat down in their ranks, with a stirring like the fret of the sea when the west wind springs up. Nestor counselled them to throw lots ; for they were ten who offered to fight with Hektor. So each marked his lot (175) with a token and cast it in Agamemnon's helmet ; and the host rejoiced when the lot of Aias fell out. Boldly he strode forth with his shield (219), which the currier made of ox-hide in seven layers and overlaid with bronze. Thrice they attacked with their spears, and Hektor was wounded ; but ere they drew swords, the heralds parted them and they exchanged gifts.

vii. 313-482 (III.). Now Agamemnon feasted Aias

vii. 313 ff. The building of this rampart coheres with the 'battle at the wall' (xii. 35 ff.). 442-64. Here Poseidon is strangely found in Olympos, though he has not been summoned

and the other princes. Nestor counselled that they should gather their dead in one barrow, and build a rampart thereby with gates and towers and a fosse to protect the ships. Thereto they assented. Meanwhile the Trojans held debate. Paris would not give back his wife (362). But they sent Idaios with an offer of her treasure. The Achaians refused it, but suffered the Trojans to gather and burn their dead. And they built the rampart by sunset (433) [howbeit Poseidon averred that he would destroy it with his waters thereafter, being jealous for his own walls, which he and Apollo built for Laomedon, 442-64 (V.)], and they supped and drank of the Lemnian wine, which they bought of Euneos, son of Iason (468).

viii. 1—ix. 713 (III. B). Now Zeus charged all the gods with a fearful threat (13) to give no succour to

from his dwelling in the sea: so also viii. 440. 468. The legend of the Argonauts is presupposed here and elsewhere (xxi. 41, xxiii. 747, 'Od.' xii. 67 ff.). 'The Achaians were used to buy wine' from Lemnos: hence Prof. Ridgeway infers a regular unit for this commodity (identifying the 'measure' of wine with the cup *depas*, Smith's 'Dict. Antiq.' s.v. 'Mensura').

viii. 1 ff. The first day is ended somewhat indistinctly (vii. 433), to make room for the building of the Greek wall, and a second day's fighting is commenced sketchily (66). This 'Interrupted Battle' (*i. e.* cut short by night, l. 485 ff.) was inserted, in all probability, to justify the Embassy (ix.), which required a previous defeat of the Greeks. Grote supposed it to be a continuation of the original poem ('Achilleid'). 13. He will hurl the disobedient to the gulf of murky Tartaros, as far below Hades as heaven is above earth. This is copied 'Theog.' 720 ff. Tartaros is not mentioned elsewhere in the 'Iliad,' except inf. 479 and xiv. 279. There is a strange exaggeration, 18 ff., where Zeus offers to hang all the gods and earth (!) and

Trojan or Danaan. He went in his chariot, all clad in gold, unto Ida and Gargaros, where is his demesne and fragrant altar (48), and watched while the Trojan host issued from all the gates (58). When they had fought until midday (66), he weighed their fates, and the scale of the Achaïans sank (72). Then even Odysseus retreated, and Diomedes durst not withstand Hektor (185), for Zeus stopped him with his blazing levin, and Teukros was carried out of the battle wounded. The Achaïans were driven even to their rampart (213),

sea by a golden rope from a peak of Olympos. 48. This would hardly have occurred to the poet, unless he knew and associated with the mountain an actual temple of a local (Phrygian) god, whom the Asiatic Greeks could identify with Zeus: the same inference is suggested by the allusion to Zeus as 'ruling from Ida' (iii. 276). The commanding height of the mountain, with its grassy pastures (iv. 476) and its mineral wealth, would naturally make it for the native Leleges what Olympos was for the Greeks. Gargaros is a peak of Ida; cf. xiv. 292, where it is ascended from Lekton, a lower eminence. (See Mr. J. Thacher Clarke on the site of Gargara (*American Journal of Archæol.* IV. 3). The gods have their permanent dwelling-place on Olympos, but make visits to their various local seats; Zeus to Ida, Athene and Apollo to Pergamos (the citadel of Troy), Aphrodite to Paphos; so Poseidon has seats at Aigai and Helike (l. 203) in Achaia, but he too is sometimes at home in Olympos (l. 440). Zeus has many altars (temples) in many lands (l. 240). 185. The four-horse chariot appears here and xi. 699, xv. 680, 'Od.' xiii. 81 (and in similes). Hektor reminds his horses how well he had tended them, and how Andromache herself had fed them with wheat and wine. There are many other illustrations of the Homeric admiration for the horse—a sentiment which Prof. Geddes ('Problem of the Homeric Poems') traces specially to Thessaly. It is significant, however, that the epithet 'horse-taming' (implying 'lordliness') is appropriated to the Trojans

and Zeus turned back Athene (362) from rescuing them ; he followed after her to Olympos, and there Poseidon unyoked his horses and put away the chariot (440). When the sun set, the Trojans kept watch in the plain, lest the enemy should escape in their ships, and they sacrificed hecatombs ; but the gods refused their offering, for they hated Ilios (550). So all the plain was aglow with their fires, like the star-lit heaven. (ix.) And the hearts of the Achaians were disquieted as the sea, when the north wind and the west blow from Thrake and cast up the tangle along the shore (7). Now Agamemnon spake for flight, and wept before the assembly : Let them return, he said, for Zeus had forsaken them (28). But Diomedes withstood him, and Nestor counselled him to summon the elders, that there might be no strife between them (63). So they debated, and the king consented to restore Briseis to Achilleus and send precious gifts and offer him one of his daughters to wed without bride-price (146) and

(iv. 333) and Hektor. 213. Or the space between the wall and the fosse (La Roche) ; but this allusion is obscurely worded. 362. She jealously remembers how she once aided Herakles, his son, when Eurystheus sent him to bring the hound of Hades (Kerberos) from Erebos (v. 397). Zeus defies Here to go unto Iapetos and Kronos (479) in the darkness of Tartaros (and raise a rebellion there ?)—one of the few Homeric allusions to Kronos himself and the Titan dynasty, with which the Hesiodic 'Theogony' is occupied. 440. The car is set upon a stand (the wheels being removed, v. 722) and covered with cloths. 550. This implies a 'moral' which is un-Homeric, and contradicts the true motive of the 'Iliad.' ix. 7. Evidently that of Asia Minor or one of the adjacent islands. 28. Compare ii. 141 : the despondent language of the king (17—28) is the same, word for

seven towns of Pylos for her dower (151); and they chose for envoys [Phoinix, 167] and Aias and Odysseus. These went and found the chief in his booth with Patroklos. He was playing on a lyre (186) and singing. First they roasted meat on the live embers (214) and feasted and sacrificed, casting the first portions in the fire. Then Odysseus began: The Trojans were encamped nigh unto the wall, the ships were in jeopardy, Hektor's hand would soon be on the ensigns (241). But Achilleus answered: He would

word (ii. 110-18, 135-41). 146. *Hednon*, the price claimed in gifts by the lady's father from the accepted suitor: this primitive custom (familiar as a feature of the patriarchal age among the Hebrews, Gen. xxxiv. 12, Exod. xxii. 6) had survived, and was still the rule in the Homeric society; hence the traditional epithet 'beeve-winning' (bringing wealth in cattle) applied to maidens. The word changed its meaning to that of dowry (see 'Od.' ii. 53, 196) when the dowry was established, and the bride-price disappeared. Here there are gifts equivalent to dowry, but they are designated as such (*meilia*, cf. xxii. 51). Seven cities shall be his, and presents and rich dues (*themistes*) from the wealthy men thereof (156, a strange use of the word, which usually means the king's judgments).—This embassy and the offer to Achilleus is not noticed (xi. 608, xvi. 73); in the latter passage it could scarcely be ignored, since Achilleus' grudge is in question. 186. 'With silver yoke': the cross-bar between the sides or horns, to which the strings were fastened by pegs (*kollopēs*). His song is of the 'glories of heroes,' *i. e.* heroic deeds of the foretime. But this is plainly a false archaism. 214. The meat is sprinkled with 'holy' salt: the epithet suggests that it was used, as by the Hebrews, to make the sacrifice savoury. There are racks on either side of the fire, on which the spits are laid when the meat is removed from them. 241. Cf. 'Od.' iii. 162. The upward-curving prow and stem were fashioned somewhat like the modern figure-head, sometimes in the form of an

not dissemble ; let Agamemnon keep the prize which he had taken in his selfishness ; he knew the king and his deceits ; nay, he would deal with him no more in act or counsel, but straightway return to Phthia with his own booty ; he would have none of his gifts, though he offered all the wealth of Orchomenos (381) or Egyptian Thebes with its hundred gates ; even so he should not prevail—no ! not till he had utterly atoned for the bitter indignity (387) : he would wed no daughter of Agamemnon ; he purposed to take some lady of Phthia or Hellas (397) to wife, and dwell in his own land, for dearer was his life to him than all the treasure that had been in Ilios, and all that was stored in rocky Pytho (405) ; and it was foretold him by Thetis (410) that he must die if he tarried to war against Ilios, but long life would be his, albeit without fame, if he returned. [Then Phoinix pleaded : Achilleus was to him as a son ; they had come together to Ilios from the house of Peleus, who sheltered him as an exile from Hellas (447) and made him king of

animal's head or bird's beak (as appears from early vase-paintings). The stern-ornament (which Hektor aims at taking as a trophy) is called here *korumbos* ('peak'), xv. 717, *aphlaston* (L. *aplustrum*). 381. 'Od.' xi. 284 and iv. 126. Orchomenos shared with Thebes in the cult of Ares ; hence, when his Greek son Askalaphos is slain by the Trojan Deiphobos, the poet allows him to forget the Trojans in his resentment (xv. 116). There is real evidence of the wealth of this city in the great tomb of its kings, the Minyai (Schliemann, 'J. H. S.' II.). For Pytho, see 'Od.' viii. 80. 410. Thetis elsewhere (i. 352, 505, cf. xviii. 95) simply foretells his early death. 432. ff. A later addition to the 'Embassy' ; this is implied by the use of the dual in the earlier part. 447. Here 'Hellas' is vaguely extended (cf. 'Od.' i. 344).

the Dolopes, and the Erinyes had made him childless because of his father's curse, that was fulfilled by nether Zeus (457) and awful Persephone. Let him not harden his heart, but have regard to the Prayers (502) who go halting after Sin; and let him remember Meleagros, son of Althaia, who gave up his wrath for the sake of Kalydon, his city, 432-622 (IV.)). Aias likewise entreated him to take the recompense, even as a man would take a price from the slayer of his brother or his son. But he said it might not be, for his heart was too full of wrath; he would never enter the fray till Hektor attacked the very ships of the Myrmidons with fire. So they returned from their errand [but Phoinix remained and slept in the booth on fleeces and fine flock (661) of linen, 658-68 (IV.)].

The Dolopes do not appear elsewhere in the poem. 457. Hades (cf. 'Works,' 445). The Homeric Erinyes are here associated with the nether gods (cf. iii. 278) as avengers of crime within the kin. They are, however, Olympian agents, and not exclusively devoted to the family. In the 'Odyssey' they aid Zeus, *e. g.* as avengers of the poor, and 'Il.' xix. 418 they check the speech of the horse Xanthos, which is regarded as a kind of transgression (see *ib.* 87). 502. This is the only allegory which has found a place in Homer. The prayers of the contrite man are personified as themselves of contrite aspect, shamefaced and wrinkled with remorse and halt (because the penitent is reluctant), while Sin is swift (a sudden impulse). If they are refused, they will bring Ate (Sin) upon the obdurate man in turn; he will be liable to infatuation himself. They are called 'daughters of Zeus,' and complain to him, like Justice in the Hesiodic allegory ('Works,' 259). 524. The story of Meleagros is introduced as one of the heroic tales ('glories of heroes,' 189); it is almost on the scale of an epic ballad, yet many details are assumed. 661. Similar luxury in the 'hut' of Achilles appears (xxiv. 644), but not the

x. (IV.). That night Agamemnon's heart throbbed in anguish, as he looked on the Trojans' fires and heard the din of their flutes and pipes (13). He arose and called other chiefs; they visited the sentinels (56) and found them all watchful, and outside the fosse they held debate. Diomedes offered himself to go with another (for two devise better than one) and spy on the Trojans and learn what they purposed. Many (217) were fain to go, but he chose Odysseus, and they set forth straightway, for it was the third watch of the night (253), with sword and shield; but Diomedes wore a cap that men call a basenet (257), and

linen: its fineness is indicated by the mention of the 'flock' or nap. So (x. 75) Nestor's bed is 'soft' with rugs.

x. There is no allusion elsewhere to this isolated episode, and no purpose in it beyond its immediate interest. 13. Only here and in the rustic scenes on the Shield (xviii. 495, 526). Wind-instruments were as yet chiefly barbaric. 56. 'The *mighty* company (strong band) of sentinels': the word *hieros* in its primitive meaning (Sk. *ishiras*). So xvi. 407, a 'mighty' fish. Applied to cities (*e.g.* Ilios), it has rather its later meaning 'sacred' (divinely protected).—The soldiers (of Diomedes) are found couched with their heads upon their shields (probably, therefore, round bucklers of the later type), their spears stuck in the ground: the butt (*ouriachos*) was provided with a metal spike (*saurôtêr*) for the purpose. The latter is mentioned only here. 217. The chiefs are tempted absurdly with the promise of a privilege, which belonged to them of right, that of partaking in the princely feasts; cf. iv. 259 ('the wine of the *gerontes*'): is this passage an interpolation? 253. The night was divided into three portions like the day (dawn, mid-day, afternoon). 257. It is defined by the absence of crest (*lophos*) and *phalos* (see xi. 42), which would have betrayed him by their glitter. Odysseus' helmet has an inner cap or lining of felt stiffened with a coil of thongs; it is arrayed with boars' tusks on

Odysseus a leathern helmet which Autolykos (267) stole of yore. Athene sent them a good omen by the way (274), and Diomedes vowed unto her a heifer, whose horns should be gilded (294). Now there went by a Trojan, one Dolon, whom Hektor had sent for a great reward to espy if the Achaians kept watch or were devising flight. They let him pass by a mule's furrow-length (351), and then gave chase and caught him; ere they slew him (378), he confessed how the

either side. Autolykos ('very wolf'), the maternal grandfather of Odysseus, renowned for thieving ('Od.' xix. 396). Compare Achileus=Achilukos (G. Agi-ulf), the 'terrible wolf' (Fick). 274. The cry of a heron on the right of their path. The gods not only direct birds thus, but take their form (vii. 58, 'Od.' xxii. 240). 292-4 recurs 'Od.' iii. 382-4. 351. Lit. the 'limits' of mules: the same word (*ouros* or *ouron*) denotes the length of a quoit-throw (xxiii. 431, 453), and is an earlier form of *horos*, a boundary. The poet adds: 'for mules are far better than oxen to drag the plough through the deep fallow.' Hence there were two units of land-measure, one derived from the ploughing of oxen, another from the ploughing of mules. As it has been demonstrated (see Prof. Ridgeway, 'J. H. S.' VI.) that the Homeric land-system was that of common tenure (xii. 421), it is a certain inference that the unit in question is the width of land which can be ploughed over in one day by ox and mule respectively: the 'boundaries' are the side-limits of the area or 'lot,' marked by stones (xxi. 405), from which the end-limit or 'headlands,' where the plough turns, is distinguished (*telson*, xviii. 544). Hence the word for the plough-stock ('Works,' 436) also denoted a certain measure of land (*guës*), the area ploughed over in a day (cf. the Old English *osken* (ox-gang)=ten acres, German *Morgen*, French *journal*, which last is still in use). *Plethron* (pelethron, from *pol-*, to turn the soil, cf. *tripolos*?) is a furrow-length (cf. L. *vorsus*, and our furlong=furrow-long), reckoned at 100 feet (xxi. 407, 'Od.' xi. 577, where it serves to

allies of the Trojans were sleeping without a guard, Karians, Paionian bowmen (428), Leleges, and Kaukônes and divine Pelasgians (429) toward the sea, the Lykians toward Thymbre (430), with the Mysians and Phrygians and Maionians; but apart from the rest were the Thrakians and Rhesos (435) their king. Thither they went and slew the king as he slept by his chariot, and made the horses their booty; then they returned to the camp and bathed (572) and feasted. And Diomedes set aside the spoils of Dolon, purposing to consecrate them to Athene.

xi. 1-55 (V.). At dawn Agamemnon donned his

measure the length of the prostrate Ares and Tityos). 378. He begs for his life and offers a ransom in vain: suppliants in battle have no claim (vi. 37-65, xi. 130-147). 428. Elsewhere spearmen and charioteers. 429. They were regarded now, as in later times (Dion. Hal. i. 18), as a foreign race aboriginal in Thessaly ('Pelasgian Argos,' ii. 681) and the region of Dodona (xvi. 233), who had settled on the coast of Mysia ('Larissa,' ii. 840). The neighbouring Leleges were the people of Pedasos (the later Assos, vi. 34, xxi. 8) and Lyrnessos (xx. 92) under the rule of Altes, father-in-law of Priam. 430. On the Skamandros. 435. Son of 'Eioneus,' perhaps another name of the Thracian river Strymon. He appears nowhere else in Homer. The splendid chariot and armour of the king may be compared with the precious Thrakian goblet (xxiv. 234) and the famous Thrakian swords (xxiii. 808; xiii. 577). Though the Thrakians were barbaric in appearance (iv. 533), they were not uncivilized. 572. First in the sea, then in baths: cf. xi. 621. An indication that the time is summer. For the bath (*asaminthos*), see 'Od.' iv. 48. For the dedication of armour, cf. vii. 83.

xi. 1 ff. As there is reason for taking this ornate description to be a late addition, it must have displaced another account of Agamemnon arming. It resembles the picture of Athene (v. 741 ff.); the same word which is used there (744) for the fighting-men

armour, his greaves with ankle-clasps (17) of silver, and his corselet, a gift of Kinyras (20), inlaid with ten stripes of kyanos (24) and twelve of gold and twenty of tin, and three snakes of kyanos on the front and back. His sword shone with golden studs (29), and the scabbard was of silver. Upon his shield were coiled

figured on her helmet here (49) denotes the chieftains as fighting on foot 'in front' of their chariots, according to Homeric usage; the chariot remaining at hand in charge of the driver to secure the warrior's retreat. The word *pruleēs* is probably identical with the Cretan *prulis*, a war-dance (imitative of the same kind of fighting); cf. xviii. 592. 17. Greaves must have been adopted early by the Greeks, as the epithet 'well-greaved' is traditional. But they may be of leather (cf. 'Od.' xxiv. 228) and the silver clasps analogous to the Mycenaean gaiter-holders, Schuchhardt fig. 226. They are naturally put on first; see the warrior arming on amphora, British Mus., 2nd Vase-room, case 51. 20. The Kinyradai were one of the ancient priestly castes of Cyprus. 'Kinyras' ('man' or god 'of the harp') was the founder, according to the local tradition (Tac. 'Hist.' ii. 3), of the great and wealthy temple of Aphrodite in Paphos. The Greek poets fabled that Kinyras himself was possessed of riches by the grace of Aphrodite (who landed on the island after her birth, 'Theog.' 189) and of Apollo (Pind. 'Pyth.' ii. 15). Here the same tradition of his wealth is turned to account, but he is represented as a king (like Makar of Lesbos), whom the renown of the Greek expedition had reached, and who made himself the *xenos* (guest-friend) of Agamemnon by splendid gifts. His name reminds us of the importance of music in all Semitic worship (cf. Gen. iv. 22). 24. 'Od.' vii. 87. The forty-two stripes were probably divided equally between breast-plate and back-plate, and combined *gtktgtkt . . . g*, tin dividing gold from kyanos (Helbig, 'Homerische Epos'). For the technique, see notes on xviii. 481 ff. 29. The nails fastening the blade to the hilt (or the nail-heads) are supposed to be of silver; hence the sword is described as 'silver-studded'

the Gorgon and Dread and Terror, and a snake of kyanos on the silver baldric (38). Then he donned his helmet, with its horns on this side and that and plume-lets four (42) and nodding crest of horse-hair; and he

(ii. 45). 33. The back of the shield was composed of ox-hide in several layers or folds (commonly four, *tetrathelumnos*, the highest number is seven, vii. 222); the facing was of bronze attached to the leather beneath by nails. The leather foundation is assumed here as in the shield of Achilleus (xviii. 481). The twenty nail-heads (of tin) appear as studs around and just within the rim. They were sufficiently ornamental to be indicated in vase-paintings (cf. Schliemann, 'Mycenae,' fig. 254). The metal facing is vaguely indicated: what are the 'ten circles of bronze'? According to Mr. Leaf, the facing is not described at all; these circles are ten rings girding a (supposed) frame of 'rods' (xiii. 407) *inside* the shield. It appears more probable that they are circular bands formed by ridges beaten up, such as are seen in some 'Etruscan' shields, giving the semblance of separate plates. (See note on xviii. 481, and cf. 'Shield of Herakles,' 141.) The poet in any case must have imagined the shield as circular. The Gorgon's head is painted (?) either on or round the central boss. Such 'blazons' had not as yet become family badges, though they may have assisted identification (v. 183). 'Terror' was depicted on the Chest of Kypselos as an animal with lion's head. The shield has the epithet 'furious'; it was conspicuous in the charge and dear to the Greek warrior as the sword to the Saxon. 38. The shield was supported by a leather strap or baldric (*telamon*) attached to the inside: here of silver (or adorned with silver?). This was passed under the right arm and over the left shoulder, from which the shield was wielded. Hence it is the shoulder which is wearied in battle, and the stalwart warrior is one who 'endures the shield.' So Aias says, in his defiance of Hektor (vii. 239): 'I know how to wield the tough bull's hide to right and to left; therein, I deem, is stalwart fence.' It was brought round to the front by pulling the belt up with the right hand. The warrior consequently had both hands free, and carried *two*

took two spears in his hand. The men-at-arms (49) were arrayed in line without the fosse, and their chariots behind.

xi. 56-848 (I.). The Trojans on the other side were drawn up on the rising of the plain (56). When they had fought till the hour when a woodman takes his meal (86), Zeus suffered Agamemnon to prevail awhile, and many a chieftain fell before him; but he sent Iris, his messenger, to encourage Hektor, and bade him uphold the battle till the king should be wounded.

spears. 42. *Amphiphalos, tetraphaleros*. These epithets refer to some appendage distinct from the crest (*Iophos*), which consisted of a ridge (*kónos*) with tufts of horse-hair (dyed crimson) inserted along it, or a curved stem (*kymbachos*) carrying the plume on the summit of the helmet (xv. 536). The Mycenaean helmets (Schuchhardt, fig. 284) were adorned with what appear to be metal knobs as well as projecting horns, the former indicated by dots; in an early vase-painting (British Mus. 2nd Vase-room, case 39, B 183) we see small plumes (coloured white) carried in sockets. The *phaloi* were probably horns or knobs of this kind, and the second epithet taken in connection with the first may denote four plumelets supported by two horns (*phaloi*) on either side (*amphi*): the *phaloi*, however, sometimes projected over and screened the forehead, serving for use as well as for ornament (iv. 460). They were commonly four (*tetraphalos*, cf. *truphaleia*=*tetraphaleia*). They were likewise called *phalara* (xvi. 106, according to a probable interpretation: the word was subsequently used of the ornamental bosses on harness; cf. Aisch. 'Pers.' 66). See Mr. Leaf on Homeric armour, 'J. H. S.' IV.; he argues that the helmet is likely to have retained these ornaments from the 'savage' type, that is, a cap formed of a wild beast's scalp with pendent ears and protruding horns or tusks (x. 261).

56. See on xx. 3. 86. The morning meal, which might be early. Yet the day (afternoon, xvi. 776; nightfall, xviii. 239) is

When this befell (248), and the king had retreated in his chariot, Zeus, looking down from Ida, made the battle even (336). But Paris wounded Diomedes from the pillar of Ilos' tomb (372), and Odysseus was hard pressed; and thus he communed with himself (404):

How shall I face or flee the fearful odds?
 Alack! To fly were grievous; yet 'tis worse
 If they o'erbear me utterly. For lo!
 The son of Kronos suffers not a man
 Of all the Danaans to rally.—Hold!
 What sets my heart to palter? Cowardly
 Are they, in very sooth, who dare not bide
 The battle; but a prince of warriors
 Is steadfast in his place, to smite or fall.

greatly over-crowded through the enlargement of the original battle at the ships (xv.). 248. This scene (Koön fighting with Agamemnon) was represented on the Chest of Kypselos (Pausan. vi. 1). In the preceding encounter we have a mention of lead (cf. xxiv. 80, a leaden plummet), but it is in a simile: 'the spear-point was turned like lead when it met the belt beneath the armour (shield? Cf. iv. 137). 336. 'Stretched the battle evenly;' cf. xiii. 359, 'So they together strained the cords of strife, and made a knot thereof which neither might undo,' and vii. 102, 'the rope-ends of victory,' which the gods hold—a curious survival in language of a fetichistic mode of thought. The golden chain (viii. 18 ff.) is a variation of the same idea. 372. Ilos, Assarakos and Ganymedes were sons of Troös, the grandson of Zeus-born Dardanos (xxii. 215 ff.). Yet Ilos is called 'elder of the people' (*demos*), like the 'elders' who sit with Priam on the Skaian gate (iii. 149) and speak in the agora (vii. 345). The phrase originated when the *demos* was still the village-community and the *gerontes* the heads of clans. 404 ff. We are enabled in this scene to contrast the deliberate courage of Odysseus (which made him Athene's favourite) with the stolid, mechanical valour of the mere soldier, Aias: the latter, in his stubborn retreat, is likened to an ass which is hardly driven with

But soon he was wounded, and hardly escaped with aid of Menelaos, while Aias made havoc of the Trojans. On the left of the battle (498) Hektor fought against Nestor and Idomeneus; Paris drew his bow again and wounded Machaon, the leech, and Nestor carried the wounded man to his tent. And Aias gave back; Eurypylos came to his aid, but Paris smote him likewise. Now Achilles was watching the battle, and when he saw Nestor driving by, he sent Patroklos to inquire what man he was carrying in his chariot (608). And to Patroklos this was the beginning of evil. For he sped to Nestor's hut: there was the knight with Machaon, drinking a mess of Pramnian wine (630) in a golden goblet, and he charged Patroklos to tell Achilles of their plight [and much he discoursed of his own deeds of old, how he fought against the Eleians and slew Mulios, their leader, 665-762

blows from the pasture. The Trojans bearing down upon him are compared to herdsmen beating a lion from the fold with darts and burning faggots (554), a primitive device used in hunting. 498. Hektor and Paris are shifted to the 'left of the battle' somewhat abruptly, and the latter back again, l. 583. 608. Achilles' speech commences: 'Now methinks the Achaians will kneel and pray to me in their great distress;' yet there is no hint of the embassy (ix.) and the humiliation of the Achaians involved in it. 630. Mingled with grated cheese and barley, and garlic for a relish (*opson*). A golden cup very like that described here, having two slender supports and doves clinging to the handles, was found at Mycenae (Schuchhardt, fig. 240). The table has feet of blue smalt (*kyanos*). 665 ff. The Eleioi had kept back a four-horse chariot, which Neleus sent to the games: a strange anachronism, see xxii. 164. The prize is a tripod, not the olive-wreath. Mulios' wife is Agamede (= Medeia?), daughter of

(IV.)); if Achilleus were loth to enter the battle because of his mother's rede or some oracle, yet let him suffer Patroklos to wear his armour and to lead the Myrmidones to their aid. So Patroklos returned with that message. But as he ran by the station of Odysseus (808), he saw Eurypylos lying wounded and stayed a while, and assuaged the wound with a bitter root, as he had learned from Achilleus, whom Cheiron the gentle Kentaur taught.

xii. 1-34 (V.). Now Hektor led on to the Achaian rampart—that wall which Poseidon destroyed after the city was taken in the tenth year, turning against it all the rivers that flow from Ida, Rhesos, Heptaporos, Karêsos, Rhodios, Grenikos, Aisêpos, Skamandros and Simoeis, whereby many heroes half-divine (23) had fallen.

xii. 35-85 (III.). The Argives fled before him, but Hektor's horses took fright at the fosse; so the Trojan leaders dismounted.

xii. 86-181 (IV.). Hektor and Paris and Helenos and Aineias led their companies on foot, and Sarpedon the allies, with Glaukos and Asteropaios. Only Asios,

Augeias: 'Od.' x. 137. 808. 'There was the Achaians' agora (not localized in the opening scene) and place of justice and their altars.' The different contingents have separate altars (those of the tribal gods). The altar of Zeus (*panomphaios*, see 'Od.' xx. 100) is common to all.

xii. 20. The first five of these rivers are not mentioned elsewhere in Homer. The author of 'Theog.' 340-5 copies the whole catalogue excepting Karesos. Concerning Simoeis, see xxi. 307. 23. The word appears nowhere else in Homer, and implies a post-Homeric kind of worship (see ch. vi. *init.*).

in his hardihood, drove in his chariot though the open gate (120) toward the left of the ships, but his assault was vain; so stoutly fought the Lapithai, Polypoites son of Peirithoos and Leonteus. And the fray waxed fierce around them: 'twere hard for me, (176) like a god, to tell it all.

xii. 182-289 (III.). Now eight Trojan chiefs were slain, and there appeared unto the Trojans on the left (201) an eagle bearing off a snake, which wounded him so that he dropped his prey and flew off with a shrill cry. Wherefore Poulydamas warned Hektor to turn back; but he defied the omen. And now they began to destroy the wall (258); but the Danaans hurled stones, thick as the flakes of snow when it falls over all the land even unto the sea.

xii. 290-429 (IV.). And Sarpedon came up, hold-

120. This is not explicitly distinguished from the gate which Hektor forces (430 ff.). 176. Un-Homeric.

201. The right was lucky, the left unlucky, without reference to the quarter of the sky; the same tradition is found in the Vedas. Here the omen is bad because the bird 'skirts' the Trojan line from right to left, and because he is defeated by the snake: whether he flies eastward or westward is of no consequence. Omens were derived not from all birds (*ornîthes*) but from some of the larger birds of prey (*oiônnoi*), e. g. eagles and hawks ('Od.' ii. 154, xv. 152). Helenos is not a professional augur, but a prince and warrior who happens to possess the gift. Hektor's defiant reply is, 'the best omen (sign from heaven) is to fight for fatherland.' 258. The wall is somewhat elaborate. There are projecting wooden buttresses ('pillars') to hold up the earthwork, and the breastwork of planks (397) is built on a stone coping (which is scaled by the Trojans (444); another interpretation is 'the machicolations of the towers'). Are there more gates than one (120)?

ing forth his bronzen shield (294), and led the Lykians against the tower, where Menestheus commanded. Then Aias came to the rescue and Teukros wounded Glaukos. But Sarpedon drew near and tore away the breastwork. Yet the battle was even : it was as when two men strive over the boundary-stones in a common field (421) with measuring-rods in their hands, or as when a careful working-woman weighs wool in a balance (433).

294. Novelties appear in the description of this shield and that of Idomeneus (xiii. 407). Here the leather hides are stitched upon long golden *rabdoi*, rivets driven right through them from the inside, with golden heads showing in a circle round the bronze face (or, as Reichel explains, golden wire serving to hold them together in place of ordinary leather thongs, cf. 'Od.' xxii. 184). The shield of Idomeneus is fitted with two *kanones*, rods or stretchers within the shield, giving a hold to the arm (cf. xxiii. 761). The word is probably Semitic (cf. Hebr. *qāneh*) and the usage Asiatic; the Greeks ascribed the later shield-handle (*porpax*) among other improvements in their armour to the Karians. 421. Cf. x. 351. The epithet implies that the arable land was held in lots, subject to periodical redistribution. This is confirmed by the phrase 'at strife concerning the measure (*aisa* or *issa*),' i. e. allotment. [It appears from xv. 498, that the 'lot' of land (*klēros*) was preserved to a man's family after his death, but this means only that they had the same right of allotment, not the same piece of land.] The one charges the other with having moved the 'boundary stone (*ouros*, cf. xxi. 405) representing his lot; so the land has to be re-measured. The point of the simile is that the combatants on either side of the breastwork are as close as the two men standing on either side of the stone. Land was reserved to the 'kings' alone; cf. *supra*, l. 313, where Sarpedon reminds Glaukos of their privileges: 'seats of honour (at the feast of the councillors), and messes (cf. Gen. xliii. 34), and cups replenished (an unstinted allowance of the councillors' wine, iv. 262), and a goodly demesne (*temenos*)

xii. 430—xiii. 125 (III.). At length Hektor hurled a huge stone and brake the hinges of the gate, and the Danaans rushed in. Now Zeus looked away from Ida to the land of the Thrakians and Mysians (xiii. 5), and the Hippemolgoi, who drink mares' milk, and the righteous Abioi; for he deemed that none of the gods would interfere. But Poseidon was watching from the summit of Samothrake (12), and down he strode and drave across the sea, and went to succour the Achaïans in the likeness of Kalchas. Then the two Aiantes waxed bold (for they knew the god) and rallied the ranks [in close array, shield interlocked with shield, helmets clashing, spears bending (?), 126-35 (V.)].

of orchard-land and wheat-bearing tilth' (cf. vi. 194). 433. A professional industry is implied; the woman makes her 'sorry wages' by spinning and carding (perhaps also dyeing) wool, which she sells by weight. She is one of the *thêtes*, the poor labourers outside the household (Hesiod, 'Works,' 602).

xiii. 5. These Mysians, neighbours of the Thrakians, are the older stock, known later as Moesians (Strabo, vii. 3); the Mysians of Asia Minor, mentioned in the Catalogue, were an offshoot. In the background the poet places the Scythian nomads. Their drinking of mares' milk ('koumiss') is noticed by Herodotos (i. 216). The tradition of an innocent people living in the midst of Northern savagery reappears in Herodotos, iv. 23; Aischylos calls them Gabioi. Mr. Leaf notices the accurate knowledge of the locality shown here (12): for, although Imbros intervenes, the plain of Troy is actually visible beyond it from the mountain on which Poseidon stands. Aigai must be imaginary, not the city of Achaia (viii. 203) where Poseidon was worshipped. 130. Here and xi. 593 we have the 'phalanx' on a small scale: the shields closed up or overlapping, the spears held at rest, the bright bosses (xi. 42) of the helmets touching when the men bend their heads. The description is marred by repetitions.

xiii. 136-672 (II. C). So Hektor's onset was stayed, but he slew Amphimachos. [Poseidon was yet more wroth, because his own grandson was slain. He met Idomeneus the Kretan, and called on him with the voice of Thoas, son of Andraimon; the chief was coming away from a wounded comrade, but he betook him to his booth and donned his armour (242) 206-45 (V)]; then Idomeneus with Meriones entered the battle on the left (326), for there the need was greater. The Trojans rushed on, and the battle was gathered around those twain like a whirlwind of dust. [For the two sons of Kronos strained the cords of strife, albeit Poseidon dared not give aid openly, 345-60 (V.)]. Idomeneus slew first Othryoneus, then Asios, who came to the rescue in his chariot (385); he escaped (402) the spear of Deïphobos and smote Alkathoös. Then Deïphobos summoned Aineias (460); but Idomeneus withstood him, and gathered his comrades (480) round him. Aineias cast at him in vain. Deïphobos struck down Askalaphos, whose sire was

242. How comes he to be unarmed? He was taking part in the battle (xi. 498). The mention of 'a comrade' without name is unusual. 355. Because Zeus is the elder and wiser. It seems to be forgotten that Poseidon was eluding Zeus. 385. Cf. xii. 86-181. Mr. Leaf supposes that section to have been inserted to account for Asios being found here in his chariot. 460. He gives aid grudgingly 'because Priamos slighted him.' Cf. xx. 180, where Achilles taunts him as a pretender to the kingship, and he in reply sets forth his lineage; *ib.* 303-8, the succession is promised to him and his posterity: 'the race of Priamos is rejected; henceforth Aineias and his children's children shall reign among the Trojans.' 480. Two of these (Deïpyros and Antilochos) should be fighting in the centre (cf. 91-3), not on the left; the

Ares (howbeit the god saw not, for Zeus kept him from the fray), but Meriones drove him back wounded, and slew Adamas. Menelaos wounded Helenos in the hand (600), and slew Peisandros (612). Harpalion fell by the arrow of Meriones before his father's (658) eyes, and Paris avenged his death upon Euchenor.

xiii. 673-794 (V.). Hektor fought meanwhile in the other part, where he had breached the wall, by the ships of Aias (681) and Protesilaos; there were the Boiotians and the Ionians (685), and Menestheus, with picked men of the Athenians. The two Aiantes toiled continually, and the Lokrians brake the Trojan ranks with their arrows and stones from their slings (716). Hektor took counsel with Poulydamas, whether they should retreat or lead an assault; he traversed the lines, and found Paris sustaining the fight alone.

xiii. 795-837 (I.). Now the Trojans charged onward

same applies to Deïphobos. 600. A piece of twisted wool is used to bind up the wound, or a sling, if l. 600 is genuine. But slingers have no place in Homeric warfare (except l. 716). 612. He is armed with an axe, see xv. 712. 658. Pylaimenes: a mistake, for this warrior was dead (v. 576).

681. This conflicts with xi. 7, where the ships of Aias are the outermost. 685. The name 'Ionians' is dragged in (it occurs here only) as though to include the Lokrians, Phthians (a name merely invented from 'Phthia,' ii. 684), and Epeians; but the interpolator betrays himself by an absurdly misplaced epithet ('with trailing tunics'!) distinctive of the Ionians of Asia Minor. That the tunic was short appears from the foot-washing scene ('Od.' xix.), where it leaves the scar visible. The Lokrians are described as being all bowmen and slingers; but the sling is only mentioned here and l. 600 (a gloss?). The Lokrians appear nowhere else except in the 'Catalogue.'

like the curling waves of the sea ; Hektor was foremost, and he challenged Aias.

xiv. 1—xv. 366 (III.). Nestor heard the noise of the fray and left Machaon in his booth ; he went out armed, and saw the rout of the Achaïans (15). The three wounded chiefs came up from their ships. Agamemnon would fain have made ready for flight (80), but Odysseus and Diomedes rebuked his wavering [and Poseidon, in the guise of an old man (136), encouraged him ; then the god hastened into the plain and shouted to the host with a voice like the roar of ten thousand fighting men, 135-52 (V.)]. Now Here beheld Zeus seated on Ida, and bethought her of a wile, whereby Poseidon might aid the Achaïans openly. She made her body fragrant with ambrosia (170) and oil, and donned a fine robe, which Athene had wrought and richly embroidered ; she fastened the lappet with golden bodkins (180), and arrayed her with tasselled (181) girdle and ear-rings (182) and fair fresh kerchief (184). She professed unto Aphrodite that she would

xiv. 15. This is rather in keeping with the end of xii. 136. An un-Homeric makeshift. 180. In the earliest representations, *e.g.* on the François vase, the 'Doric' chiton is arranged as described here ; a lappet from the back is brought over each shoulder and pinned to the front (*cf.* xxii. 80). 181. The hundred tassels are pendants, probably thin strips of gold, as found at Hissarlik (Schuchhardt, *figs.* 35, 36) and in Cyprus. A fringed girdle appears on the Assyrian reliefs as part of the king's dress. 182. 'With three drops, like the mulberry' (rather 'glistening'? There is no mention of the mulberry—*moron*, Semitic?—in any writer before Epicharmos, B.C. 500.) 184. A mantilla covering the back of the head and shoulders (see

go to reconcile Okeanos, parent of the gods (201), with Tethys, who had taken her of yore from Rhea and nurtured her, when Zeus imprisoned Kronos far beneath the earth and sea; and the goddess lent her the broidered band (214)

wherein is every charm
Wrought to her purpose, love and fond desire
And soft beguiling parle, that steals the wit
E'en of the stedfast-minded.

Therewith she sped over Pierie and Emathie and the hills of the Thrakian horsemen to Athos and Lemnos. There she found Hypnos (250), and covenanted with him that he should lull Zeus to sleep. So he went with her unto many-fountained Ida (283), and watched from a

Helbig, 'Homerische Epos,' p. 217 f.). 201. The personal Okeanos is mentioned (xx. 7), but only as being absent from the Olympian council. The tradition followed here, which makes him father and Tethys mother of the gods, is peculiar as a divergence from the local European mythology, which assigned that dignity to Ouranos and Gaia ('Theog.' 133-36, Okeanos and Tethys are among their children). Mr. Gladstone ('Landmarks,' p. 128 ff.) suggests that the Babylonian doctrine of water had penetrated into the Greek theology through a Phoenician medium. 214. Lit. 'strap,' perhaps merely the *zone*, which she had concealed in her bosom. The epithet *kestos* ('embroidered') became the name of the girdle (*cestus*). 250. Hypnos (Sleep) had played the same trick on Zeus before to oblige Here, when she persecuted Herakles (xv. 18-30) after the sack of Ilios (by Herakles and Telamon). She engages that he shall have for his wife 'one of the younger of the Charites' (cf. xviii. 382, and 'Theog.' 907). To this covenant he swears by Styx and the 'Titan gods below Tartaros.' This is the same vein of tradition which is found in the Hesiodic Theogony (cf. viii. 479, xv. 225). Sleep dwells in the under-

lofty pine in the likeness of a swift (290). Then Zeus was enamoured more than when he loved the wife of Ixion or Danaë or the daughter of Phoinix or Semele, who bare Dionysos (325) unto him, or Alkmene, mother of Herakles, or Leto ; he slept beside her amid a golden cloud, and the earth made them a bed of fresh grass and flowers (348). And Hypnos ran down and told Poseidon, bidding him now help openly. [The god advised the Argive chiefs and headed the onset, sword (385) in hand ; the cry of the two hosts waxed loud as he and Hektor led them on, 363-401 (V).]. Hektor straightway drave with his spear at Aias, but it struck at

world ('Theog.' 759). 283. See viii. 48. 290. 'A shrill bird on the mountains, which the gods call *chalkis*, but men *kymindis*.' Similarly Aigaion is named 'by the gods' Briareos (i. 403), Batieia 'Myrine's tomb' (ii. 814), the Skamandros 'Xanthos' (xx. 74) ; cf. 'Od.' x. 305 (*moly*), xii. 61 ('wandering rocks'). By the divine name a rare and uncommon one (not necessarily the older) appears to be meant. 325. He is noticed only here, and vi. 130-141 ('Od.' xi. 325). This list of the loves of Zeus is in the spirit of the later heroic mythology. The heroines enumerated are mothers of the demi-gods Peirithoos (friend of Theseus), Perseus, Minos, Rhadamanthys, and Herakles. 348. Lotus and crocus and hyacinth ; for the last, see 'Od.' vi. 231. The lotus is a kind of clover (*lotus corniculatus*?). The crocus derives its Semitic name (cf. Hebr. *karkom*) from the imported saffron dye. There is the same approach to romanticism in the description of Poseidon's journey through the sea-waves (xiii. 27 ff.). 385. The distinctive epithet of the sword, found here and elsewhere, if it refers to the point, means 'long-pointed' ; but, as it is also applied to an axe, it probably characterizes the whole blade as long and straight. 'Long' is only a secondary meaning of this adjective, derived from the primary meaning 'straight' (lit. 'stretched,' from *tan* ; cf. *tenuis*, thin) ; it is found *e. g.* in epithets descriptive of a bird's

the joining of the shield-belt and the baldric (405); as he retreated, Aias felled him with a great stone, a ship's prop (410), so that he was carried fainting to the ford of Xanthos (433). And now the Argives fought boldly; and many a Trojan fell by the hand of the Aiantes and Antilochos and Meriones and Teukros. (xv.) But Zeus awoke and was wroth. He reminded Here how he punished her aforetime (19) in Olympos, when she maltreated Herakles, and he sent her to fetch Iris and Apollo [that his counsel might be fulfilled by the death of Sarpedon and Patroklos and Hektor, 56-77 (V.)];

wings, the hair of goats, the leaf of the olive, the bark of the cornel, the ankle ('tapering,' Hesiod). As applied to a woman's dress (iii. 228), it seems to indicate stiff, straight folds rather than length. Hence the Homeric sword may have been like those found at Mycenae (Schuchhardt, figs. 267-9), but heavier (it is called 'large'). It was used for cutting, not thrusting. Hektor is killed, as he lies disarmed, by a spear-thrust (xxii. 326), not with the sword (cf. xvi. 828).—In this section (363-401) Poseidon is made to interpose without disguise; he talks and shouts and puts himself at the head of the Greeks in personal and visible form, and he is placed on a level with the man Hektor. An evident makeshift is his absurd advice that there should be an exchange of shields, the best fighters taking the largest! The description of the combat appears to be abruptly resumed from xiii. 793-837. 405. The sword-belt passed over the right shoulder; the javelin strikes just where it crossed the shield-belt. 410. Cf. Hesiod, 'Works,' 624. The same stones may have served for ballast (see Dr. Hayman's 'Odyssey,' app.). xv. 19. Her hands were tied with a golden chain; from her feet he suspended two thunderbolts (*akmon*, Skt. *açman*), and left her hanging in the clouds. The ordinary meaning of *akmon* is 'anvil' (cf. Hesiod, 'Theog.' 722), but Curtius has shown that it originally meant a thunderbolt, regarded as a stone (or a mass of meteoric iron?) 56-77. The plot is clumsily anticipated, and

so she sped from Ida to Olympos, swift as a man's wit, who has travelled in many lands and thinks 'would I were here or there' (80); she gave charge to the gods as Zeus commanded, and went down and stayed Poseidon; he obeyed, albeit in umbrage, for fear of the Erinyes, who uphold the right of the elder-born (204). Apollo likewise descended, in the semblance of a hawk, and restored Hektor's strength [so that he ran strong and lusty as a stalled horse that has broken loose and gallops proudly on the plain (269), and urged on his horsemen. And Thoas marked him, and wisely counselled the bravest chiefs to withstand him together, while the multitude withdrew (305) to the ships, 236-305 (V).]. The Trojans advanced, and Hektor led them with Apollo; the Argives were massed (312) against them, but the god, as he shook the ægis, bare them down like a herd of cattle (323). Through the fosse they rushed, and the Trojans followed; for Apollo made a bridge-way over it and threw down the rampart.

xv. 367-591 (V.). Nestor prayed in his despair, and Zeus hearkened and thundered; but the Trojans surged onward, and now the Achaians fought perforce

the sequence of events is wrong (64, 69). 80. Cf. 'Od.' vii. 36. 204. So elsewhere Poseidon dares not disobey openly, but only in disguise (xiii. 351 ff.); he is not, however, dependent like the sons and daughters of Zeus. The chief authority belongs to Zeus as the eldest; the 'wide heaven' belongs to him by lot. The Erinyes defend the brother's right as they respond to the father's or mother's curse (ix. 454, 571); cf. xxi. 412. 269. Repeated unaptly from vi. 506-11. 305. This is contradicted by l. 312 (cf. 323).

from the ships with long pikes (388), which they had for battle at sea. Now Patroklos was tending Eurypylos and cheering him with talk (393), while the battle was without the rampart. But when he saw the rampart (395) assaulted, he left him and sped to Achilles. The Danaans yet made a stand before the ships' sterns and kept the fight level (410), and many fell around Hektor and Aias; for the two chiefs fought hand to hand about one galley.

xv. 593—xvi. 418 (I.). Now the Trojans rushed upon the ships even as Zeus purposed; and he encouraged Hektor [from the æther, and gave him honour, albeit Athene was compassing his death, 610—14 (V.)]. The Argives drew within the first line of their galleys and halted by their booths; for Nestor rallied them there [and Athene gave them light to see

xv. 388. This pike which Aias wields (677) is twenty-two cubits long (twice the length of Hektor's spear, vi. 319), composite ('jointed with rings'?) and shod with bronze.' Its use must have been to keep the enemy from boarding, as well as to defend ships when attacked on shore, as now. Another thing mentioned in this description only is the *kymbachos* (536), which is struck away from the helmet, and falls with the crimson plume. It served, therefore, to hold the plume. It was evidently not an integral part of the helmet, but probably a slender stem such is frequently represented in early vase-paintings, and on earlier engraved gems (Hefbig, 'Hom. Epos,' p. 211), where the plume springs from the summit of the helmet (cf. xi. 42). 393. Post-Homeric. 395. We should have expected 'the ships' rather than 'the rampart,' which the Trojans have already stormed. 410. The simile employed here, from a shipwright's rule (?), looks like a confused reminiscence of 'Od.' v. 245. The shipwright has his art (*sophie*, post-Homeric) from Athene.

the foe, 667-70 (V.)]. Aias, with a pike (677) in his hand, bestrode the ships' decks, first one, then another, like a horseman (679) who couples four horses together and mounts one and another as he runs. Hektor seized the stern-ensign of a galley, the one which had brought Protesilaos; round about it they fought with sword and spear, with axes and hatchets (711). Hektor shouted for fire. Aias, from the helmsman's bench (729), drave back each man who came near. Meanwhile (xvi. 1) Patroklos told Achilleus of the Achaians' plight, and besought his leave to go forth with the Myrmidones [and wear his armour, to deceive the Trojans, 40-3 (III. B)]. Achilleus answered (49): 'I had not thought to end my wrath until the battle reached mine own ships; yet go [put on my armour, 64 (III. B.)]

xv. 679. The mention of the riding horse (*keles*) is restricted to similes (here, and 'Od.' v. 371). This feat, however, is not strictly one of riding. The man runs with the horses, holding all the reins and mounting them from the ground one after the other without stopping the team; so Aias leaps up and down from ship to ship. The hulls must have been very low. 711. Casual weapons; the battle-axe as such does not appear to have been known in Homeric warfare, though an axe is once strangely mentioned as used by a warrior in addition to the spear (xiii. 612). 729. A thwart seven feet in length. Mr. Leaf understands the word to denote a bridge between the fore and after decks, seven feet high over the hold. xvi. 43. Mr. Leaf regards the change of armour, and likewise the disarming of Patroklos (793 ff., 813 ff., 846), as subsequently added with a view to the episode of the 'Shield' (xviii.); the reasons for this theory are (1) that the Trojans, in the following description, do not appear to mistake Patroklos for Achilleus in the actual conflict, and (2) it is for his armour that they afterwards fight (xvii. 125). Cf. H. Bonitz, 'Origin of the Homeric poems,' n. 70. 49 ff. It is evident from

and lead forth the Myrmidones, seeing that the Argives for need of us are surrounded and driven to the shore; soon would the Trojans be put to rout and the gullies choked with their dead, if Agamemnon were friendly to me. Go, smite them, but heed my counsel; so shalt thou win me honour, and the Danaans take back the maiden and render me splendid gifts withal. When the ships are rescued, return and fight not without me, lest thou diminish my honour and imperil thine own life—for Apollo befriends the Trojans. I would that only we two were spared and might alone undo the sacred coronal (100) of Troy!' Now Aias was foredone with fighting, and the Trojans set fire to the ship. Patroklos straightway armed himself in greaves and corselet [the well-dight starry corselet of Achilleus, 134 (III. B)] and took a sword and shield (136) and donned a helm, and grasped

Achilleus' speech here, as from i. 409 ff., that his resentment was not to be appeased by any apology or compensation, that he desired Agamemnon not merely to confess and repent, but to suffer to the bitter end for his infatuation. At the same time he fears to lose the king's gifts and the honours of the war (cf. ix. 601 ff.). This harmonizes very well with the irreconcilable and savage spirit which he displays in the 'Embassy' (ix.); and there is the same personal feeling of hatred throughout (l. 77). It is probable, nevertheless, that the 'Embassy' is of later origin, otherwise the poet could hardly have ignored what, as the poem now stands, is of such cardinal importance; he would rather have used the previous offer of retribution to add to the rhetorical effect. 100. The walls and battlements are likened to the white veil or kerchief (xiv. 184). 134. 'Starry' = adorned with rosettes (cf. xviii. 370). 136. It is described only by epithets, not as the shield of Achilleus. 150. Xanthos ('bay') and Balios

two lances [but not the huge Pelian spear, which none but Achilles wielded, 140-4 (III. B)]. Automedon yoked for him the horses (150) Xanthos and Balios, with the mortal Pedasos in the side-traces. Then the Myrmidones assembled, all eager as gorged wolves running to slake their thirst at the water. [They were in five companies, led by Menesthios, son of the River Spercheios, and Eudoros, son of the god Hermes, and Peisandros and Phoinix and Alkimedon, 168-211 (V.).] Achilles made a libation of wine from his own cup, when he had purged it with sulphur (228), and prayed unto Zeus the Pelasgic, the lord of Dodone (233), that Patroklos might prevail and return safe

(‘piebald’) are the offspring of a Harpy (‘Od.’ i. 241) and Zephyros; so Boreas is the sire of the Trojan mares, the possession of Tros (v. 165, of Ericthonios, xxii. 221). The third or ‘trace’ horse appears only in this scene (l. 471) and viii. 87; cf. ‘Od.’ iv. 590, where Telemachos is offered *three* horses and a car. If this is not a mere anachronism, we must suppose that a third horse was kept in reserve in case of accident. The traces, as seen in vase-paintings, are attached to the chariot-rail and the breast-strap of the horse. 168 ff. The first three names are not found again, and Phoinix appears only in the interpolated portion of the ‘Embassy’ (ix). 228. The use of sulphur as a disinfectant was already known (cf. ‘Od.’ xxii. 493). It had a kind of sanctity also from its mysterious (volcanic) origin, and its connection with lightning (xiv. 415, the odour of sulphur from a tree smitten by the ‘stroke of Zeus’). 233. As in the ‘Catalogue’ (ii. 681), the country (Thessaly) which sent forth the soldiery of Achilles is called Pelasgic Argos, so here he addresses Zeus as ‘Pelasgic’ = Thessalian, that is, as the god of his own land. There (ii. 750) ‘wintry Dodona’ is wrongly located in northern Thessaly (Peraiboi), since there is no evidence of any Dodona except the historic seat of the oracle in Thesprotia (‘Od.’ xiv.

[with all his armour, 248 (V.)]. Then the Myrmidones poured forth like wasps that swarm from their nest on the roadside. And Patroklos rescued the ship and quenched the flame; there came a respite like the lifting of a cloud (300) from the mountain-top. And the other chiefs made havoc of the foe, albeit Hektor abode and succoured his men. [Like the rising of a storm-cloud in the sky (364) the clamour went up; they crossed the fosse again in utter rout, and many a chariot was broken there; but his swift steeds bare Hektor forth, 364-71 (V.)]. Patroklos pursued them along all the pathways toward the city, away from the ships and the huts. [Through the fosse he drove with the immortal horses; his heart urged him against Hektor, but Hektor's swift steeds bare him forth, 380-3 (V.)]. With a din as of the floods, when Zeus sends a plague of rain upon the fields [for the iniquity

327). Here, however, the juxtaposition, 'Dodonaian, Pelasgic,' need not imply the same error: the Thessalians, having migrated from the region west of the Pindus, would retain the tradition of Dodona. Yet the description of the priesthood, with their primitive habits, suggests that these were not familiar to the poet's audience, but rather a matter of distant report. The original motive for sleeping on the ground and keeping the dirt on the feet (235) may have been to assist communication with the world below, if we suppose a prior fetichistic phase of the oracle, in which it consisted merely of a haunted tree, through which the dead sent messages from beneath the earth. Regarding the Selloi (or Helloi), see Ch. I, p. 13. 300. This beautiful simile is repeated in part (less appropriately) viii. 555 ff., see Tennyson's translation. 364. A very obscure simile, perhaps copied from the above. The confusion and repetition here and below (380-3) is evidently caused by the interposition of the wall and fosse.

of kings (387) in the judgment-seat], the Trojan horses scoured the plain. Twelve warriors fell there, between the ships and the river and the lofty wall (397).

xvi. 419-683 (II. A). And now Sarpedon encountered him; and Zeus was grieved for his son, but consented that he should die and be buried (456) in his own land; Death and Sleep should carry his body home. So he fell by Patroklos' spear, and they despoiled him. But Apollo rescued the body and bathed it and anointed it with ambrosia (670), that it might be buried in Lykia with a barrow and a pillar.

387. Suspiciously like Hesiod, 'Works,' 221 ff. 397. The wall of the city?

xvi. 456. The peculiar word used here, and vii. 85, distinctly indicates embalming (*tarchuo*, L. *torreo*; A.S. *drig*, 'dry'), though the context implies the sense 'entomb.' In both cases the body is destined to be sent home instead of being burned on the spot. It is a just inference (Helbig, *op. cit.* § 5) that burial with partial mummification (as at Mycenae, see Schuchhardt, p. 158) was familiar to the poet as well as cremation. That the former custom was the older is implied by certain survivals (xxiii. 170). Cf. xix. 38. The Persians embalmed with wax (Herod. i. 140), the Babylonians with honey (as is done in Burmah), *ib.* 198. Cf. Xen. 'Hell.' v. 3, 19. The Homeric picture of Sleep and Death carrying the dead body of a hero from the battle-field is frequently repeated in early vase-paintings. The Lykians' care for their dead is attested to this day by the tombs at Xanthos. In the description which follows there is grim humour (617), where Aineias taunts the Cretan Meriones: 'My spear would have quickly stopped thy dancing for ever,' in allusion to the Cretan war-dance (xviii. 590); and l. 745, where Kebriones 'tumbling' from his chariot is likened by his antagonist to a diver jumping from a ship to grope for oysters (?) It is to be noticed, as showing that the episode of Sarpedon's death is not

xvi. 684—xvii. 139 (I.). Now Patroklos pursued and slaughtered even to the wall of the city, recking not of Achilleus' word. Apollo thrust him back with warning of doom, and emboldened Hektor to turn again ; for Zeus had made him afraid. But toward the time of the loosing of oxen (776), when the Trojans gave way and Patroklos rushed upon them, Apollo stunned him with a stealthy blow [and struck the helmet of Achilleus from off his head, and the baldric and shield from his shoulders, and rent the corselet, 793-804 (III. B)]. As he staggered, Euphorbos, a Dardan, struck him from behind with a dart, and Hektor drove a spear (828) through the body [and ran back, fleeing the unarmed man, 813-6 (V.)]. So he died, but first foretold that, albeit Zeus and Apollo had slain him [and taken the armour from his shoulders, 846 (V.)], yet Achilleus would avenge him on Hektor. But Automedon escaped with the horses and the chariot. (xvii.) And Menelaos went up to defend the body, and he slew the fair Euphorbos (52) ; but Apollo, in the likeness of Mentès (73), captain of the Kikones, aroused Hektor against him ; so he retreated and summoned Aias. Now Hektor, when he had despoiled (125)

of a piece with the context, that Apollo (666 ff.) and Here (432 ff.) talk with Zeus, who is on Ida ; though, as the narrative stands, they should both be in Olympus.

xvii. The battle over the body of Patroklos is represented in the Aeginetan sculptures, Brit. Mus., Archaic Room. 52. His hair is described as 'like unto the (hair of the) Charites ('Theog.' 904), all in tresses tied (lit. 'pinched') with gold and silver. The meaning of this is settled by the discovery, at Mycenae and Hissarlik, and several other ancient sites, of small golden spirals,

Patroklos, withdrew before Aias, and gave the armour to the Trojans to carry to the city; yet he dared not draw near to seize the body.

xvii. 140-236 (II. A). But Glaukos incited him with taunts; then Hektor bade him stand by and witness [and he went out of the battle and ran and overtook them who were carrying the divine armour of Achilles, and put it on instead of his own; then he waxed bold and encouraged the Trojan and Lykian chiefs, 186-228 (III.)]. And he offered half the spoils to him who should take the body from Aias.

xvii. 237-361 (I.). Now Aias and Menelaos rallied their comrades [they and Idomeneus and Meriones, and a host behind, 258-61 (V.)], while the Trojans rushed on amain like a mighty sea-wave that breaks against a river's mouth. But Hippothoös (297) and Phorkys were slain, and Hektor drew back.

which would seem to have been used for the hair (Helbig, 'Hom. Epos,' p. 242). The same fashion is indicated again (ii. 872), but it is distinctive, as here, of an Asiatic. Compare the scornful description of Paris (xi. 385), where the 'horn,' on which he prides himself, is not his bow, but a mode of twisting the hair.

186. ff. An afterthought; see xvi. 43.

297. Hippothoös is smitten through the helmet 'so that the brain and blood ran together from the wound along the socket (*aulos*) of Aias' spear.' There were two methods of attaching the spear-head to the shaft. (1) The lower part forming a hollow socket, the end of the shaft was fitted into this and secured with nails. All the spear-heads found at Mycenae are of this type. Schliemann, 'Mycenae,' p. 278. Cf. the epithet *dolichaulos* ('with long socket'). (2) The spear-head ended in a solid tongue (*kaulos*), which was let into a slit in the shaft, and secured with pins and a metal ring or ferrule (*porakes*) passed round the joint, to

xvii. 362-423 (V.). The air was darkened where they fought, and some saw not, because Nestor had posted them apart. They haled the body this way and that, as men pull and stretch a hide well greased with fat (390). Yet Achilles knew not, for Thetis had not forewarned him.

xvii. 424-761 (II. C). The immortal horses stood apart, drooping their heads (440) and weeping, fixed as the pillar on a tomb; but Zeus gave them heart to run, that they might not be Hektor's prize, and Automedon saved them. [And Athene descended in cloud like a rainbow, that is a portent of war (548) or storm: in the semblance of Phoinix (555) she emboldened Menelaos, 543-74 (V.)] and he slew Podes, who was Hektor's familiar (577). But Apollo gave Hektor courage, and fear fell on the Achaians; for Zeus lifted his ægis and thundered from Ida. So Aias was fain to send some comrade to Achilles, and he sought for Antilochos; but the field was wrapped in mist (644).

prevent the wood from splitting (vi. 319). Spear-heads of this kind were found at Hissarlik (Schliemann, 'Troy and its Remains,' p. 331; 'Troja,' p. 95) and in Cyprus. Thus a spear is broken off 'at the tongue'=at the joint.

362 ff. Explanatory additions. 390. A primitive process of leather-making.

440. Their long manes sweeping the ground as they hang down from beneath the yoke-cushion (?): so when Xanthos bows his head and speaks to Achilles (xix. 406). Horses have presentiments (xviii. 224); the charioteer reasons with them (viii. 185). 548. Cf. xi. 27. The rainbow is associated with the dark storm-cloud. 555. Phoinix is an interpolated personage (cf. ix. 432 ff). 644. The darkness here described (*i. e.* the cloud of dust), which Zeus dispels, is wrongly introduced above, ll.

Then Zeus cleared the sky at his prayer, and Menelaos found Antilochos and sent him ; albeit they had small hope of Achilleus, for his armour was lost. Menelaos and Meriones laboured to carry the corpse out of the battle, while the Aiantes kept the Trojans back.

xviii. 1-33 (I.). Now Antilochos came and spake his woful tidings ; when Achilleus heard, he fell moaning in the dust and ashes (25).

xviii. 34-147 (III. B). Thetis heard his lament : her sister nymphs gathered round her [thirty and three of the daughters of Nereus, 39-49 (V.)], and she told them her grief, and how the armour was lost. Then she repaired to her son and heard his tale. No joy to him was the Achaians' defeat ; he would have vengeance on Hektor, or live no more :

And Thetis wept again and spake : ' My child,
Breathe not that name, for 'tis thy very weird.
Thine hour is nigh when Hector perishes.'
But swift Achilles answered her in dole :
' Oh, straightway let me die, who suffered him,
My comrade, to be slain ; and he is dead
Far from his homeland, cruelly forsaken.
Now, seeing I return not to my place,
And my Patroclus had no light of me,
Nor all my friends whom glorious Hector smote,
But here unhelpful, cumbering the ground,
I sit beside my ships, I who was first
Of all the Achaeon chivalry in war
And only in the folk-mote was surpassed—

268-73 (an interpolation), as sent by the god to aid the Greeks ; so perhaps l. 366 ff.

xviii. 25. Of the altar of Zeus Herkeios in front of the hut. A sacrificial knife of iron is mentioned (l. 34). 39 ff. Cf. 'Theog.' 243 ff. The Hesiodic list is supposed by some to be the original.

- Oh, perish strife outright from Heaven and earth,
 And choler that beshrews the soundest wit,
 (109) Sweeter than dropping honey, but as smoke
 It gathers in the breast. So even now
 We quarrelled, I and he, the king of men.
 Howbeit reckon we this trouble past,
 And hold our hearts in duress as we may.
 My quest is only Hector, till I venge
 The blood of my beloved. Afterward,
 What time soever Zeus and all the gods
 Shall choose for my undoing, I am ready.
 I wot that Heracles, the mightiest
 And best beloved of Kronos' lordly son,
 (117) E'en he, escaped not death, but was foredone
 By fate and Hera's fell malignity.
 And needs must I be stricken, if my doom
 Be like to his. But first I fain would win
 Goodly renown : deep-bosomed (122) dames full many,
 Daughters of Troy and Dardanus, must moan
 And stain soft cheeks with stanchiess tears, and learn
 That I have ceased o'erlong from combating.
 Let be ! Not all thy love shall hinder me.'
 Then answered Thetis of the silver feet :
 'Thou speakest sooth, my child ; 'tis no ill thing
 To ward sheer death from comrades in their strait.'

She promised to bring him new armour from
 Hephaistos at daybreak, and departed to Olympus.

xviii. 148-186 (I.). Now Hektor would have dragged
 away the corpse in spite of the Aiantes ; but Iris

109. We may perhaps explain the 'trickling' honey as the wild
 honey which drops down the tree (cf. 1 Sam. xiv. 6). 122.
 This epithet appears to refer to the bosom itself ('full-breasted') ;
 'deep-girdled' (ix. 594) to the dress.

148 ff. Mr. Leaf includes this scene—the message of Iris,
 the apparition of Achilleus, the Trojan assembly (cf. xxii.
 100 ff.)—in the earliest 'Iliad,' with the exception of some short

brought a message to Achilleus [for Here sent her by stealth, 168 (V.)], that he should go to the rescue [at Here's bidding, for Zeus saw not, 181-6 (V.)].

xviii. 187-201 (III. B). He answered that he was awaiting the armour, which Thetis promised; but she bade him go and only show himself from the trench.

xviii. 202-368 (I.). So he arose, and Athene set her ægis about his shoulders and a cloud of flame around his head, like the beacon which is kindled in a beleaguered island city by night and is seen from the mainland afar. He stood [by the trench, 215-6 (V.)] and shouted; the goddess echoed the shout, so that it rang out clear as a clarion's alarm (220), and horses were affrighted and men were thrown and crushed as they fled. And they brought back the body to Achilleus (231) on a bier; Here caused the night to fall, and the two hosts were parted (244). The Trojans held an assembly; Hektor rejected the counsel of Poulydamas, and would not retreat, albeit Achilleus had returned to the war. So they kept watch, while Achilleus mourned with the Myrmidones, biding his vengeance; and they washed and anointed the body.

interpolations, *e. g.* the stealthy sending of Iris by Here (there being no motive for secrecy) and dubious passages in the speeches of Hektor and Poulydamas. But he supposes that a piece of the original has been suppressed (after 161), in which some hero finally rescued the body (and Zeus sent Iris? She could hardly go of herself). Mr. Monro would exclude the whole scene except 232-44, the rescue in xvii. having been intended, he thinks, to be final. 220. The trumpet is recognized in this simile and a metaphor (xxi. 388, the sky ringing with the din of battle), but never in the narrative.

[And Zeus reproached Here because she had aroused the hero, 354-68 (V.)].

xviii. 369-615 (III. B). Now Thetis repaired to the house (370) of Hephaistos and Charis his wife, and found him forging tripods (375) for the gods' assemblage; he had dwelt aforetime with her and Eurynome, daughter of Okeanos, for nine years, making them brooches and spirals (401) and cups (?) and necklaces of bronze. When they had feasted, she told her tale (449). Straightway he threw into the crucibles (470) bronze and tin and gold and silver, and fashioned on the anvil a great shield with triple rim, in five folds (481), whereon he wrought first the earth (483) and

370. It is called 'starry' and 'bronzes,' *i. e.* the walls are adorned with rosettes of bronze (like the great tomb at Orchomenos, Schuchhardt, p. 147) and with bronzes panelling ('Od.' vii. 86). 375. With golden wheels, one under each foot, working of their own will (like the bellows, l. 469). Such wheels or castors were made by the Phoenicians: *e. g.* the brazen bases (of lavers) designed for Solomon by Hiram had each four wheels (1 Kings vii. 27-38). A wheeled eschara may be seen in the British Museum, Etruscan Saloon, case 87. Cf. 'Od.' iv. 131. The tripods would serve as stands or tables for dining in the hall of the gods. 401. Armlets or spiral brooches of the type illustrated by Helbig, 'Hom. Epos,' p. 279 f. There is no evidence as to the *kalykes*. 449. With an allusion to the 'Embassy' (later insertion?) 481. The 'folds' are certainly not layers of metal (cf. xx. 269-72). They may be simply the layers of leather beneath the metal surface. But where the word is thus used (vii. 222) the hide is mentioned. Comparing the description of the shield of Agamemnon (by the same poet?), we should rather infer that the leather foundation is unnoticed here as there, and that the 'folds' are identical with the 'circles,' *i. e.* circular bands (xi. 33). In the 'Shield of

sky and sea, the sun and the moon, the Pleiades and the Hyades and Orion (489) with the bear watching him ; then two cities, in the one a wedding procession and a trial (497) concerning the blood-price of one slain ;

Herakles,' l. 141-3 (a passage modelled on 'Il.' xi. 32-4), the word must bear a similar meaning (bands or dividing ridges of enamel). We have then a symmetrical arrangement in five concentric circles between the omphalos and the 'triple' rim (or 'triple-twisted,' according to Löschke). The description appears to proceed from the outside—(1) the stars with the earth (represented by knolls?) adjoining the ocean, which forms a narrow band within the rim ; (2) the two elaborate city-scenes (war and peace) ; (3) the three field-scenes, ploughing (spring), reaping (summer), vintage (autumn) ; (4) lions attacking cattle, etc. ; (5) the dance. The discovery at Mycenae of bronze dagger-blades inlaid with gold and silver or electron has revealed both the method and the style of ornamentation, which the poet had in view here and in the description of Agamemnon's breastplate (xi. 24-8). From these, and comparing a silver bowl inlaid with gold (Schuchhardt, p. 297), we see that the art of inlaying bronze with the precious metals had long been familiar to the Greeks. The technique of the 'Shield' might indeed appear, not more, but less elaborate than that of the daggers ; for in the latter the details (plumage, folds of dress, etc.) are worked out with the graver, the gold is variously toned by alloying (with copper), and in one instance the figures (lions) are in low relief. These adjuncts, however, may well be assumed ; the first is almost implied by l. 479 ('with cunning work *all over*'), and the blending of the metals may be indicated where Hephaistos 'throws into the fire bronze, and tin, and gold, and silver' (470) ; in any case, where the golden field is marvellously 'darkened' (479), to indicate furrows, the gold must be supposed to be deepened in colour by alloy, like the manes of the lions in the Mycenaean design. *K̄janos* is used only for the ditch (564), to distinguish it from the fence (tin) ; in the 'Shield of Herakles' (167) it distinguishes the bodies of the snakes from the heads. Its

about the other were two armies (509)-besieging it, and an ambushade (531) and an affray; he fashioned likewise a fallow field, wherein many (542) were ploughing, and a royal demesne (550), where the king was

prominence in the companion picture (xi. 26, 39) is indirectly evidence, for both, of Phoenician influence (through the medium of Cyprus). The structure likewise is Phoenician in its outlines, viz. the arrangement in concentric circles, as seen in Cyprian and other metal-work of Phoenician character, and the balancing of scenes: compare the bronze bowls in the British Museum, Nimroud Gallery. But, on the other hand, as the technical method is not that of the Phoenician metal-workers (*repoussé*), so the poet eschews the hieratic Phoenician system of design and fills his 'circles' with a variety of realistic pictures such as the other process—that of inlaying—seemed to allow and suggest. The omission of ships and the sea-life from this panorama is noticeable as evidence of the aristocratic dislike of seafaring; in the 'Shield of Herakles' a harbour is presented, with dolphins chasing small fish and an angler casting from the beach. The absence of any mythical scenes (such as the wedding of Peleus) indicates that Greek art had not reached that stage; the pseudo-Hesiodic poet, on the contrary, adorns the 'Shield of Herakles' with the exploits of later (!) heroes. Some scenes may have been copied, for this magnified 'buckler,' from a decorated shield of the older type: see note on l. 519, and comp. Reichel, *op. cit.* 483. On a Phoenician bowl (Helbig, 'Hom. Epos,' pl. ii.) the earth is represented, in the centre of the design, by wooded hills with deer, etc. For Orion, see 'Od.' v. 121. 497. Mr. Leaf ('J. H. S.' VIII.) has restored the true meaning of this scene. The homicide tenders the price before the people (*demos*, an approximation to the later use of the word), the prosecutor '*refuses to take aught*' (not 'denies that he has received aught'), they are fain to settle the quarrel 'at the hands of an arbitrator' (*istor*, cf. xxiii. 486, of an umpire in the games), a throng of partisans follows them. By the side of this picture of the altercation in the agora its sequel is presented: a trial before the *gerontes*, who are sitting on stone seats ('Od.' viii. 6),

watching his reapers, sceptre in hand ; and a vineyard with youths and maidens dancing therein, and a boy singing a *linos* to the lute (570) ; likewise lions attacking kine and sheep grazing, and a dancing-place like

or rather one semi-circular seat of stone (the 'sacred circle'), with the heralds keeping order ; the pleading is concluded, the judges are speaking in turn, two talents of gold have been deposited (one by each of the parties?) to be awarded to him 'who should give judgment most equitably' (not 'to him who should plead most equitably,' *i.e.* as 'costs' to the successful litigant ; for equity is the virtue of the judge, not of the pleader). Prof. Ridgeway notices a parallel primitive usage (in Africa) ; the judges are similarly compensated, the amount being fixed by themselves beforehand. For the ancient Roman rule, see Maine, 'Ancient Law' (*sacramentum*). The peculiarity here is that the compensation is not divided, but goes to the judge who discharged his duty best—a premium, in fact, on honesty, designed as an indirect check on the venality of the 'princes.' It would be awarded, presumably, by the 'king,' or whoever presided at the trial. 509. Perhaps adapted mistakenly from a real picture (such as the siege on a Phoenician silver bowl of Amathus, Helbig, 'Hom. Epos,' pl. ii.), where a besieging army, supposed to be drawn up around a city, was represented conventionally as ranged on either side of it. This design the poet repeats, with the mistake that the army is treated as really twofold. He supposes an allied force and a division of policy ; the one army desires to destroy the city, the other to offer terms. The compromise proposed—viz. that the city shall part with half its wealth (compare Hektor's proposal, xxii. 117)—seems to reflect history. 531. The garrison make a sortie, while the besiegers are debating (the 'speaking-place,' *eirai*, apparently an improvised equivalent of the stone 'circle'). The poet by another misapprehension (see Reichel) makes Ares and Athene lead this unsuccessful ambushade ! 542. The common field in contrast with the king's private land ; the 'many ploughers' being the joint-owners, who begin their work together on the

that which Daidalos (590) built in Knosos (592); and around the rim the great river Okeanos. He wrought also a breastplate and a helmet with crest of gold, and greaves of tin (612).

xix. 1—2 (I.). Now the day dawned :

xix. 3—39 (III. B). Thetis brought the armour, and bade Achilleus renounce his wrath before the people; and she preserved (38) the corpse with nectar and ambrosia.

same day (like our 'Plough-Monday'). The field is a 'fallow' and 'thrice-ploughed' (see Hesiod, 'Works,' 373). As a companion picture, the king (sceptre in hand) superintending his *erithoi* (hired labourers, cf. 'Works,' 602; they appear nowhere else in the 'Iliad'). 570. Named from its refrain *ailinos* (Hebr. *helil-na*, 'weep'): a song of the dying year? 590. There is no other allusion in Homer to Daidalos ('the cunning craftsman'). 592. Cf. 'Theog.' 947. The poet alludes directly to Crete in describing the young men who carry daggers during the dance (cf. xvi. 617), and tumblers who lead both the dance and the music (a fashion still found in Greece; cf. Th. Bent, 'Cyclades,' p. 246). The other dance is performed by youths and maidens in line, crossing hands; their running is likened to the potter's wheel. They wear fine linen (*othonai*, iii. 141), which has been dressed with oil ('Od.' vii. 167), and has a 'soft oily sheen.' 612. 'Greaves of flexible tin': after xxi. 592. Helbig suggests that bronze with a coating of tin is meant: comp. xxiii. 561, a breastplate 'whereon a casting of bright tin is carried round' (in circles). Reichel argues, on the contrary, that bronze greaves only came in with the 'buckler,' and that except in late passages (vii. 41) the term denotes simple gaiters of leather (or tin) to protect the shins against the shield. Cf. xi. 17.

xix. 38. By pouring nektar and ambrosia through the nostrils. The varying use of the latter is due to a twofold tradition. The idea of a celestial food or drink as the source of immortality appears to be Aryan (compare the Vedic *soma*), but the Homeric

xix. 40-153 (I.). And Achilleus bestirred the Achaian warriors, and all who were wont to bide in the circle of the ships [even the helmsmen and the stewards, 43-4 (V.)]; he proffered peace to the king, and charged him to marshal the host. Agamemnon answered: It was Zeus and Destiny and the Erinys (87) who had blinded him [and Atè, who walks with delicate feet over the heads of men and makes them fall; she deceived even Zeus himself, when he swore that oath whereby Eurystheus, the son of Sthenelos, son of Perseus, was born to be king of Argos instead of Herakles, 88-136 (IV)]. He

ambrosia is likewise a perfume, and as such is connected with the East. The word itself is probably borrowed from the Semitic (*ambar*, ambergris). Ambrosia is always fragrant, even as food. It is merely a perfume (xiv. 170), where Here cleanses her body with it. In this description (cf. xvi. 670) it suggests embalming, of which we have another curious survival in the honey deposited with the dead body (xxiii. 170). Cf. the epithet 'ambrosial,' *e. g.* of sleep (sweet, delicious), of night (balmy).

44. These non-combatants are brought in nowhere else. 87. The word is often impersonal (*erinues* = 'curses,' *e. g.* xxi. 412). It is explained by Fick as having been originally an epithet of Demeter, from *eri(v)*, 'to be wroth,' L. *rivinus* (and *reus* = *revus*?). Prof. Max Müller connects it with Sansc. *saranyā*, the dawn as 'swift' in detecting dark deeds: but see Schrader, 'Prehist. Antiquities,' p. 412. We find here again (cf. ix. 457) a significant extension and weakening of the primitive conception of the personal Erinys as avenger (of crime within the clan or family): she is regarded as punishing *any* sin or folly, and likewise as prompting it, the proper office of Atè. The description of the latter is in the same allegorical spirit as that of the Prayers (ix. 502 ff.), and Hesiod, 'Works,' l. 219 ff. and elsewhere. 88 ff. This misplaced narrative may have been adapted from an

tendered ample recompense [the same which Odysseus had offered 140—1 (V.)]; his squires should fetch the gifts straightway. Achilleus bethought him not of these, but was urgent for battle.

xix. 154-275 (IV.). But Odysseus advised that the people should first take their meal of food and wine, and the gifts be fetched and the king make an oath concerning Briseis. So he went with other chiefs and brought the gifts that he had promised for the king on the day before (195), seven tripods and twenty caldrons and twelve horses and seven women-slaves and ten talents of gold (247). Therewith they brought Briseis, and Agamemnon sacrificed and swore by the Earth and the Sun and the Erinyes that he had laid no hand on her.

xix. 276-9 (I.). So the assembly dispersed, and the Myrmidones took the gifts to Achilleus' tent.

xix. 280-302 (IV.). There Briseis mourned for Patroklos and for herself, for he had promised that she should be Achilleus' wedded wife (298).

Argive or Theban epic concerning Herakles. The genealogical motive is evident; while Eurystheus is great-grandson of Zeus through Sthenelos and Perseus, Herakles is his very child.

247. As the 'talents' must have been uniform pieces (perhaps bars like those of silver found at Hissarlik), which would only require to be counted, the weighing has been suspected as a false archaism or as an 'indication of a later period, when the talent had become a very large amount' (Leaf). There is, however, no evidence of any variation either in the 'Iliad' or 'Odyssey,' much less any hint of the later and wholly different use of the word (to denote a sum of money, like the Hindu *lakh*).

276-9. This certainly implies a previous mention of the 'gifts'

xix. 303-424 (I.) But Achilleus would not eat nor drink, in his sorrow for the dead and for Peleus his sire [and for Neoptolemos, his son, whom he left in Skyros, 326-37 (IV.)]. Howbeit Athene went at Zeus' bidding and poured nektar and ambrosia in his breast, to stay his hunger. Meanwhile the Achaians arrayed them and poured forth from the ships, and Achilleus put on his armour [which Hephaistos had wrought, 365-8 (V.)], greaves and sword and shield and helmet [with plumes of gold that Hephaistos had set thereon, 382-3 (V.)]. Then he mounted beside Automedon, and called on his steeds, reproaching them because they had left Patroklos dead. Xanthos answered and prophesied that his master's death was drawing nigh; for Here gave him speech. [But then the Erinyes stopped his voice, 418 (V.).]

xx. 1-380 (IV.). So the Achaians armed by the ships, and the Trojans over against them on a rising of the plain (3). Zeus bade Themis (4) summon all the

(perhaps suppressed to make room for 140 f. ?), though not (as l. 195) of the 'Embassy.'

298. This is inconsistent with the Homeric morality and with ix. 397 (Achilleus will wed some noble Thessalian lady).

326. Neoptolemos was a hero of the later epic ('Kypria' and 'Little Iliad'). But it is assumed in the 'Iliad' that Achilleus was unmarried, and that he was quite young when he left his home for the war. See xxiv. 765. Helen is described as 'abhorred' here only: compare 'Od.' xiv. 68.

418. A further (perhaps fanciful) departure from the primitive view (cf. l. 87).

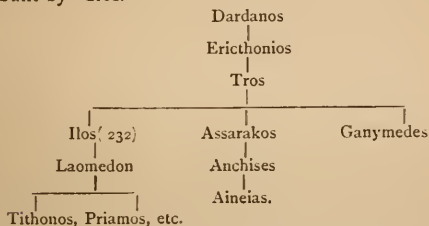
xx. 3. Mr. Leaf notices, as evidence of copying, that this phrase is used rightly xi. 36 ('the rising of the plain'=the foot

gods to an assembly, and gave them leave to rekindle the strife; and they went forth to war (32). Now Apollo urged Aineias to encounter Achilles. With threats and boasts they met: Aineias' spear pierced through two bronzen folds of the divine shield, but there (272) it was stayed. Yet Poseidon suffered him not to fall; for he was to reign in Troy-land, he and his children's children (309); so the god lifted him with a leap clear over the ranks, and he escaped.

of the hill on which the city stood), here and x. 160 wrongly ('*a* rising in the plain'). He supposes the assembly to have been inserted by way of preface to the ensuing 'Battle of the gods'; but the interpolation may begin with the entrance of the gods as *combatants* (32). 4. Themis is likewise the guardian of the earthly *agora*, both as the place of debate ('Od.' ii. 68, she 'breaks up and gathers the assemblies of men'), and as the place of judgment (xi. 807, where *themis* = the justice-seat). 32. Athene, Here and Poseidon are champions of the Greeks, with the addition of Hephaistos and Hermes (the gods' messenger, strangely out of place); the Trojans are supported by Ares and Aphrodite, Apollo and Artemis (with Leto, stationed against Hermes!), and the river-god Xanthos (xxi. 307). 272. See xviii. 481. This passage was interpolated with the idea that the shield was constructed of five layers of metal (two of bronze, two of tin, and one of gold in the middle!). 309. This episode in honour of Aineias is full of allusions to myths and incidents from extraneous sources (the encounter with Achilles in Lyrnessos, the land of the Leleges, was described in the 'Kypria'). The mythology is of the later moralizing kind. Troy, we are told, had been plagued by Poseidon because Laomedon had defrauded him and Apollo of their wages for building his wall (yet the Homeric Apollo is friendly to Troy, cf. xxi. 442); Herakles had sacked the city for a like offence. Priam, the king of this twice and thrice-doomed city, was to fall with his race, which Zeus had rejected (306, yet the Homeric Zeus loves Troy); Aineias was to reign instead and

xx. 381-503 (I.). Now Achilles slew Iphition, son of Otrynteus [whose home was in Hyde by the Gygaian mere, 383-94 (V.)], and the young Polydoros, son of Priamos, and many another; but Apollo rescued Hektor from his spear.

found a royal race. His lineage is traced back to Zeus through Dardanos, who built 'Dardanie,' three generations before Ilion was built by 'Ilos.'



It is highly probable that this turn was given to the legend in view of an actual kingdom on the traditional site of 'Dardanie': for the older Skepsis (see W. S. W. Vaux, 'Greek Cities and Islands of Asia Minor,' p. 8) on Mount Ida claimed to have belonged to the descendants of Aineias; the tradition was old enough to find its place in Hellanikos (cf. Roscher's Lexicon, 'Aineias'). The same motive must underlie an allusion (xiii. 460) to jealousy between Aineias and Priamos; for this there is no Homeric warrant, but the invention explains itself if there was such a fact to suggest it. The whole episode is very awkwardly designed. Poseidon, instead of Apollo, is made to rescue Aineias, though he is against the Trojans. Achilles is detained with a long colloquy at the moment when he is in search of Hektor, and his prowess is belittled (262). The name 'Erichonios' is doubly suspicious—(1) the divine mares should belong, not to him, but to Tros (v. 265); (2) the name itself is Attic, and may have been inserted to justify the Athenian claim to Sigeion in the Troad (Herod. v. 94). Miss J. E. Harrison ('Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens,' introd.) invests him with

xxi. 1-33 (IV.). At the crossing of Xanthos (2) he slaughtered the Trojans in the river (14), and twelve he took alive (31) for an offering to Patroklos.

xxi. 34-138 (I). He slew Lykaon, the son of Priamos

a title of his own to the mares, as an old-Ionic sea-god (=Poseidon), the mares being the personified sea-waves.

383 ff. Borrowed from the 'Catalogue,' ii. 865? The lake was near Sardis.

xxi. 2. Xanthos, the 'divine' name of the Skamandros (xx. 74), signifies 'yellow'; cf. 'flavus' of the Tiber. It may be inferred that the foreign name was the more familiar. This river is undoubtedly one of the real features of the Homeric plain of Troy (the 'Skamandrian plain,' ii. 465). Its course from Mount Ida (xii. 19, 21) to the Hellespont, intersecting the plain between the Trojan city and the Greek camp, corresponds sufficiently with that of the actual river (Menderé). It was no more invented than the Hill or the Hellespont itself. But poetical licence comes in. The course is transverse where it is wanted to mark off the Trojan from the Greek area; *e.g.* xiv. 432, the battle taking place on the Greek side of the river-boundary (viii. 560), the wounded Hektor is carried back to the 'ford of Xanthos'; xxiv. 692, Hermes takes leave of Priamos at the same place. But in the former passage the Trojans' previous crossing is forgotten, and here, while some of the Trojan army are driven into the river in the attempt to cross it, the rest are supposed to make their way back from the plain without any exact indication. The Simoeis, on the other hand, appears to be a mere invention; indeed, apart from the Catalogue of rivers (xii. 22) and this scene, it is brought in only once, incidentally (v. 774, where an imaginary confluence serves to particularize a spot out of the way of the fight). In support of a real Simoeis it is argued (1) that there is another stream (Dumbrek-su) flowing from Ida and approaching the site of Troy on the north side; (2) that this quarter is indicated as the region outside the fighting area by Ares going to the left (of the Greek position) when he quits the field (v. 355). See Schuch-

by Laothoe, the daughter of Altes, who ruled over the Leleges of Pedasos (87); for he would spare none of the kindred (95). Then the River waxed wroth.

xxi. 139-514 (IV.). But when he had made yet more

hardt, ch. ii. The question, however, would hardly have arisen but for an interpolation of 'Simoeis' vi. 4. See Mr. Leaf's note there and xx. 74; he suggests that the foreign name of the real river, being perhaps Ksammd, was translated into three Greek forms, Skamand-, Xanth-, Simoent-. 14. They are caught in the flood like a swarm of locusts, which make for the water when the plain is afire—a mode of ridding the land of locusts, which was employed especially in Cyprus. Apollo was invoked as destroyer of locusts (Parnopios) as well as voles. 31. Tying their hands with the straps (belts?) of their 'pleated doublets'; the tunic was thickened by pleating the stuff (Leaf), or inter-twisting the threads in weaving (Studniczka). Where a cuirass was worn (as apparently v. 113), this would serve to prevent chafing; where the *chiton* took the place of a cuirass, as here, it may have been made of leather. Reichel explains the epithet as 'pliant.'

87. Cf. vi. 34. The earlier name of Assos: see Mr. J. Thacher Clarke's 'Report on the Investigations at Assos' (Boston, 1882). The youth had been taken captive before and sold to the 'son of Jason' (Euneos), in Lemnos (40); the legend of the Argonauts is also used vii. 469, xxiii. 747. He claims the privilege of a suppliant, because he has broken bread ('tasted meal of Demeter') in Achilleus' house; this is still the rule among the Arabs (Prof. Robertson Smith, 'Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia'). 95. Achilleus rejects the plea that Lykaon had not the same mother as Hektor (Priamos having more wives than one).

139 ff. This dramatic conception of the rivers as taking a personal part in the fray does not imply a genuinely primitive view, but rather an advance toward the romantic treatment of Nature, like the description of Simoeis making ambrosia spring up as grass for the horses of Here (v. 777), and the earth making a bed of flowers (xiv. 347). Yet the poetical motive is one to

havoc (140), the River spake with human voice, complaining, and pursued him on the plain, as a stream (257) that glides down, when the ditcher delves a channel for it among the plants; he called Simoeis to his aid, but Athene succoured Achilleus and Hephaistos fought the River with his fire, so that the plain and the banks were burnt and the trees consumed, elms and willows and tamarisks, and clover and rush and galingal; and the god was quelled by the seething of the water. And the other gods fell to strife: Athene struck down Ares with a huge stone, so that he lay prone over seven roods (407) of the plain, and she smote Aphrodite with her hand; Poseidon taunted Apollo, because he had forgotten his grudge against Troy (442), and challenged him, but he was loth to fight; and Here beat Artemis on the ears.

xxi. 515—xxii. 404 (I.). Now Apollo went to guard the city and took the likeness of a man, to delude Achilleus, till the Trojans were safe within the walls. (xxii.) But Hektor waited at the Skaian gate, ashamed to flee, although Priamos cried to him and Hekabe besought him with bared breast (80). But terror fell

which such primitive rites as the sacrifice of bulls to the sea-god ('Od.' iii. 6) would give countenance. Cf. l. 132, where Achilleus alludes to the custom (perhaps barbaric rather than Greek) of throwing live horses into rivers as offerings. 140. The chief of those slain, the Paionian Asteropaios, is not noticed in the Trojan 'Catalogue.' He is son of Pelegon, son of Axios (the river). 257. An elaborate picture of irrigation. 407. The word (*pelethron*) more probably denotes a certain length; see note on x. 351. 442. The poet is conscious of the contradiction involved in the legend of Laomedon's perjury.

on him (126) when Achilles drew near, and he ran by the two springs (147), the fountains of Skamandros; the one flows warm with a smoke as of fire, the other is cold as ice, even in summer; beside them are washing-troughs of stone. Thrice round the city he ran before Achilles, as it had been a race (164); then Zeus weighed the lots, and Hektor's lot sank down (209).

xxii. 80. 'Opening the lappet' (*kolpos*), the overhanging front of the dress, which fell when unpinned, the dress being open on one side and fastened on the shoulders by brooches; Helbig, 'Hom. Epos,' p. 214, after Studniczka, who has proved the antiquity of this (the 'Doric') form of *chiton*. 126. A passage of Hektor's soliloquy (126-8) is strangely used in 'Theog.' 35: 'It is no time for dallying, like maid and bachelor, from tree or rock,' a proverbial phrase meaning, perhaps, 'with anything that comes to hand,' 'at haphazard' (Monro). The Hesiodic poet took it literally. 147. The phrase, in this context (unless the description is interpolated, which is possible), must mean springs feeding the Skamandros, not its actual sources (cf. xx. 9, 'springs of rivers'; the sources of a river, where they happen to be noticed, are usually called its 'heads'). It is curious, however, that the description corresponds with, and was evidently suggested by, two springs, hot and cold, which *are* the sources of the river (Menderé); the hot spring has a temperature of 60°—80° Fahr. See Virchow, 'Landeskunde der Troas.' The poet, or interpolator, knew of these by hearsay only (they are very remote, near the summit of Mount Ida), and simply placed them where they served his purpose. If the phrase is understood as meaning the sources, it involves a contradiction, of which only an ignorant rhapsodist would be capable; for it makes the 'deep-eddying Skamandros' a stream running its short course from the washing-troughs! 164. 'In honour of a dead lord': the custom of games at the funeral feast was thoroughly established. See book xxiii., and the incidental references there (630, 680). 209. This image of the scales (cf. viii. 69) is conceived in the same vein of realistic allegory as

Apollo left him, and Athene deceived him with a wraith of Deiphobos, his brother. Then Achilles drave his spear (326) through his neck; yet he had strength to speak, and prophesied Achilles' death. So they despoiled and stabbed him where he lay, and Achilles bade them bring back the body [ere they went up to fight again, 381-91 (V.)] and chant a pæan (394). Then he lashed the body to his chariot and dragged it on the plain; for Zeus had given Hektor to his foes to do him indignity in his own land (404).

xxii. 405-515 (II. A). When Priamos saw it, he was fain to go forth straightway and entreat for mercy. Hekabe raised a wail with her women, and Andromache heard their cry at her loom (440); she ran and saw and fell backward fainting, and her head-dress dropped, frontlet and kerchief and plaited band (469), and her

that of the jars on the floor of Olympus (xxiv. 527) and the myth of Pandora (Hesiod, 'Works,' 94). Its motive is the simple Homeric belief in divine intervention at supreme moments; when a hero falls in battle, Zeus has taken the 'fates (*kêres*) of gaunt death' into his own hands. This conception subsisted side by side with the idea of allotted destiny (*aisa*, *moira*). When the latter abstractions became persons (the 'spinsters' of 'Od.' vii. 197, the three *Moirai* of the 'Theogony'), the discrepancy was concealed by making them daughters of Zeus ('Theog.' 904; cf. *ib.* 217). 394. According to Fick, the original poem ended here; according to Mr. Leaf, at l. 404.

440. Corresponds with iii. 126, but the inserted pattern is here composed of 'gay flowers' (*throna*). Garments with a floral design appear, *e. g.* on the François vase. From Sappho's corresponding epithet of Aphrodite, 'gay-flowered' (i. 1), it would seem that she imagined the goddess in similar attire.

veil, a wedding-gift of Aphrodite. When her spirit returned, she uttered her lament for him and for her son [though he were not slain, yet would he be spoiled of his land and ousted as an orphan, 489-507 (V.)], the dead man would be given to the dogs and the worms; they might not clothe him, but only burn raiment in his honour (512).

xxiii. 1-257 (III. B). The Myrmidones drove in their chariots thrice (13) round the body of Patroklos, weeping, and made their offering of the blood (34) of oxen and sheep and boars. That night the spirit came to Achilles in his sleep, craving the due of fire that he might pass the gate of Hades beyond the river (73);

469. A complete description of the Homeric lady's head-gear: (1) head-band or frontlet, perhaps of gold (compare the 'golden fillets' of the Muses, 'Theog.' 916); (2) a head-kerchief (*kekropthalos*) secured by (3) a braid ('plaited band'), cf. Aristoph. 'Thesm.' 257; (4) a large linen veil or mantilla (*kredemnon*, 'glossy' and 'fine-spun,' cf. iii. 141, Helene's veil of *othonai*, and 'Od.' i. 134). Helbig notes that the whole head-dress falls together, and accordingly conjectures that *kekropthalos* may have denoted, at this early time, some kind of high, stiff cap like the Etruscan 'tutulus'; but the change of meaning, as well as the thing itself, is unlikely.—A portion of Andromache's lament (the picture of a friendless orphan, 487-504) is out of place and coarse in style, not unlike Hesiod, 'Works,' 504 ff.

xxiii. 13. Compare the dragging of Hektor's body thrice round the tomb (xxiv. 16); these would seem to have been traditional ceremonies, especially in Thessaly (according to a scholiast, who quotes from the Alexandrine scholar Kallimachos). The procession of chariots was instituted at Rome (*decursio*): Statius, 'Theb.' vi. 213 ff. 34. Cf. 'Od.' xi. 96. The victims are slain with a knife of iron: this metal is not used for weapons

he desired that, when Achilles died before Ilion, as it was appointed, their bones should be laid together in one coffer (91), even as they were reared together in the house of Pelops; therewith the lifeless wraith (104) fled away. So at dawn they went up and felled timber on Ida and piled it together; then they cut off locks of hair (135) and heaped them on the corpse and bore it to the place, the Myrmidones armed in their chariots and the footmen following; Achilles himself placed in the hand of the dead the lock that Peleus

of war, except a mace (vii. 141) and arrow-heads (iv. 123). 73. The Styx (viii. 369) or Okeanos ('Od.' x. 513)? In the 'Odyssey' Elpenor (xi.) and the ghosts of the suitors (xxiv.) find their way into Hades without burial rites. 88. Patroklos had taken refuge there as a boy; he had killed a playmate in a quarrel 'over the astragals' (the simple game of knuckle-bones, like our 'dibs'; the use of the bones as dice is post-Homeric). 104. The Homeric view of the dead is illustrated by Achilles' words, when the spirit 'flees away gibbering beneath the ground, like a smoke': 'Oh strange! There doth remain even in Hades a spirit and a phantom, but life is none therein' (*phrenes*, the diaphragm, which was regarded as the seat of physical life). Compare i. 4, the 'self' is the body. This is simply the primitive idea of a quasi-material 'double,' suggested (as Achilles testifies) chiefly by the phenomena of dreaming. See G. Perrot, 'Rev. des Deux Mondes,' Feb. 1881, on the Greek as compared with the (earlier) Egyptian belief; the Egyptians sought to house the 'double' (*ka*) in the tomb, the Greeks to keep it away (in 'Hades'). 135. 'They covered over (*lit.* clothed) the whole corpse with their hair that they cut and threw thereon.' Such bodily offerings were survivals of self-immolation, or of the mutilation inflicted on slaves and captives. The mourner thereby offered himself, symbolically, as a servant and companion to the dead. The same tribute is still rendered to a deceased kinsman in Albania (Von Hahn,

had vowed for him to the river Spercheios (141). Then they built the pyre a hundred feet either way, and Achilles enfolded the corpse in fat and set jars of oil and honey (170) by the bier, and threw on the pyre four horses (174) and two house-dogs of Patroklos, and twelve Trojan men (176) he slew likewise, and made the fire consume all together, calling aloud on the dead. Meanwhile Aphrodite anointed Hektor's body, and Apollo kept the sun's heat from it (189). And the north wind and the boisterous west came and blew up the fire all night, and Achilles poured wine on the earth and invoked the spirit. In the morning they quenched the embers with wine (250) and laid the bones in a double layer of fat within a golden urn (253), and made a barrow (255) of earth on the spot.

'Alban. Studien'). Alexander the Great dedicated his hair at the tomb of Achilles. 141. The 'nurture lock,' which Achilles was about to dedicate when he was summoned from home: the river-gods were supposed to tend the young. From this custom of 'cutting' the lock (which was preserved for the purpose) the word *kouros*, a well-born youth, is perhaps derived; similarly, from the custom of cutting the hair of a bride, the epithet *kouridios* denoted the 'wedded' wife (i. 114), the 'nuptial' bed, and even the house of the married pair ('Od.' xix. 580). 170. Cf. xvi. 456; xix. 3 ff. 174. For a Vedic parallel, see Prof. Geddes, 'Problem of the Homeric Poems,' p. 227. Telemachos has *two* dogs to accompany him ('Od.' xvii. 62). 176. The tradition of human sacrifices at funerals survived not only in Greek legend (e.g. the Trojan captive Polyxena sacrificed at the tomb of Achilles, that he might have his share of the spoils), but in practice; twelve Messenian captives were slaughtered at the funeral of Philopoimen, B.C. 187. 189. Cf. i. 39. 250. The

xxiii. 258—xxiv. 3 (IV.). Now Achilles stayed the folk and ranged them in a wide ring (258), and brought forth the prizes (264). Five chiefs contended in a race of chariots, Eumelos, Diomedes, Menelaos,

Romans had the same custom (*respersio*); Cic. 'De Legg.' ii. 24. 255. The barrow is to be enlarged, but it will remain a cenotaph; the bones will be interred in Thessaly (91). Cf. 'Od.' iv. 584. The description is as follows: 'They traced the round of a barrow (*lit.* outlined it with a *tornos*, 'Od.' v. 249), and laid the foundations thereof around the pyre and straightway heaped loose earth thereon.' That is, they set up stones to form a facing and support to the foot of the earthen mound. Prof. Paley argued, from the reference to the *tornos* and its use in ship-building, that the form was oval (the 'long barrow'). But the barrows found in the Troad have a circular substructure. The foundation of a similar but vastly larger tumulus is now recognized in the circle of stones enclosing the shaft-graves at Mycenae (Schuchhardt, iv. 3). Compare the royal tumuli with a sepulchral chamber in the interior, *e. g.* that of Alyattes (Herod. i. 93), and the Etruscan tombs at Vulci and elsewhere.

258. The word *agon* ('assemblage,' *e. g.* of the ships; 'congregation,' vii. 298) approximates here and in the 'Odyssey' to its later use ('public games'); it denotes the 'ring' of spectators and the 'lists' ('Od.' viii. 259). 264. The prizes are, in order of worth, (1) a woman slave and a tripod ('eared' = with handles); (2) a mare in foal; (3) a bronze caldron (cf. Schuchhardt, fig. 248); (4) two talents of gold; (5) a two-handled jar (*phiale*, cf. 253). The size of the tripod and caldron (and the *crater*, 741) is marked by the *metron*, a unit of fluid measure, perhaps borrowed from the Phoenician *saton* (Hultsch). From this and the list of prizes in the foot-race (741-51) it appears that the talent of gold had less than half the value of a bronze caldron of moderate size (4 *metra*), while one fat ox was worth more than the half-talent. The caldron, of course, derived its value chiefly from the workmanship; gold in itself is reckoned at more than ten times the value of bronze (vi. 235). The talent was a definite weight

Meriones, and Antilochos [to him Nestor, his father, gave counsel, how to turn his well-knit (335) car deftly round the post, 303-50 (V.)]. Epeios won in the boxing (660); Odysseus threw Aias, son of

of gold : cf. xxiv. 232, 'he weighed and brought forth ten talents'; the word itself means a weight in the balance and, in the plural, the scales. It had likewise some definite shape (figured on the 'Shield,' xviii. 507, in the trial-scene). The bars of silver found at Hissarlik (Schuchhardt, p. 62) were probably 'weights' of an earlier period. But gold was not yet a medium of exchange. It was merely merchandise, even when it changed hands in 'weights' and 'half-weights' and was employed, in that convenient form, for gifts, ransoms, fees, etc. (A corresponding use of iron is suggested by the 'axes' and 'half-axes,' 850 f.; an 'axe' may mean a weight of iron in some form conventionally representing an axe-head, otherwise we must understand by the latter the single-headed as distinct from the double-headed axe, *pelekus*.) The talent appears more frequently in the 'Odyssey,' but there is no sign of variation in its relative value; compare the ten talents offered as compensation to Achilles (ix. 122), and given him by Priamos (xxiv. 232), with the same given to Menelaos by another king ('Od.' iv. 129), in each case along with other gifts in kind, and the two talents as court-fee (xviii. *loc. cit.*) with the two talents as the reward (not the wages) of a sentinel ('Od.' iv. 526). Its successor was the gold stater or daric of 130 grains (the Attic gold didrachm); that the weight was the same is likely, apart from the question of origin. (Prof. Ridgeway, 'Origin of Metallic Currency,' argues that it was invented as an equivalent of the ox; he traces a reminiscence of this in the juxtaposition of the ox as second and the half-talent as third prize, l. 703-5.) That the ox was still the real unit of value appears, *e. g.* from the valuation of the armour (vi. 235). 660. For Epeios, see 'Od.' viii. 493. His opponent had won at the funeral games of Oidipodes ('Od.' xi. 277 ff.). Apollo is expected to give endurance to the athlete, as he was invoked to impart his own manly strength to the growing youth ('Od.' xix.

Telamon, in the wrestling (712), and defeated Aias, son of Oïleus, in the foot-race; to him Achilles gave a silver bowl, which artificers of Sidon wrought and chased, and Phoenicians (744) brought it over the sea. [Then Aias, son of Telamon, and Diomedes fenced with spears; Polypoites won a prize for hurling, and Teukros and Meriones for archery, 798-883 (V.)]. To Meriones he gave a spear, and a goodlier prize (885) to Agamemnon, for none excelled him in throwing the javelin. Then the assembly dispersed.

86; cf. *ib.* xx. 71, 'Theog.' 346). Hence he presided in later times over the gymnasium, and the Greek artists made him their ideal of manly beauty. The thongs, which the boxers have wound round their knuckles, were subsequently developed into the leather gauntlet loaded with metal (*caestus*). The waist-cloth worn by them (683) was disused in the Olympic games after the fourteenth Olympiad. 712. The attitude of the wrestlers, leaning forward one against the other, is likened to cross bars (such as those which secured the double gate of the Greek wall, xii. 456), or to the sloping ('crossing') rafters of a gabled roof (if l. 713 is genuine, but see 'Od.' xi. 62). Two bouts are described: first, Odysseus, while he is being lifted, throws Aias backward by kicking him with his heel in the hollow behind the knee; then he 'bends in' Aias' knee (trips him) and throws him sideways, but falls with him. 744. Cf. 'Od.' iv. 618. 798. This appendix is condemned by the absurd invention of a duel with spears, and shooting with the bow at a cord (857), and by a 'false archaism'; a mass of unwrought iron is hurled instead of a diskos (of stone, 'Od.' viii. 190), and this is described as large enough to keep a herdsman or ploughman in tools for five or six years (as though the labourer would keep iron in stock, instead of buying from the smith). Polypoites 'puts' this weight as far as a shepherd hurls his crook (*kalauirops*): the word means 'thrown with a cord,' *i. e.* a loop of string. For this primitive usage, see E. B.

xxiv. 4-804 (III. B). At dawn Achilleus, in his chariot, dragged Hektor's corpse thrice round the barrow; but Apollo covered it with the ægis (20). And Here and Athene were rejoiced, for they hated the house of Alexandros [since he gave his judgment for Aphrodite, 29 (V.)]. But at Apollo's prayer Zeus sent Iris (77) for Thetis, and she besought her son to take a ransom for the dead:

'My child, how long wilt eat thy heart away
In tears and sighs, forgetting food and rest?
Not long wilt thou be left me; even now
Death and strong-handed Fate are standing nigh thee.
But hearken to the message which I bear
From Zeus, and know that all the gods of heaven
Are sore displeased, and he most wroth of all,
Because in thy distempered mood thou keepest
Hector unransomed by the beakèd ships.
Nay, take a ransom and give back the dead.'
And swift Achilles made reply to her:
'So be it. If Olympus' very lord
With stern intent commands it, let who will
Bring me the price and take the body with him.'

So Iris told Priamos. He was fain to go himself to Achilleus, seeing it was no priest or diviner (221) who

Tylor, 'Anthropology,' p. 194. 885. A caldron embossed with flowers (rosettes).

xxiv. 20. It is clearly supposed to be a cape (see v. 741) thrown about the body. 29. The judgment of Paris is a piece of later mythology suggested by the hostility of Here and Athene to Troy. 77. Iris and Hermes appear together in this part of the story. She is employed, as usual, on a swift and sudden errand (penetrating the sea like a leaden plummet, cf. 'Od.' xii. 251), he as the gods' servant where resource is needed (thus here

counselled him. He made ready a goodly ransom, twelve fine robes and twelve cloaks of single fold (230), and as many coverlets and linen mantles and doublets, ten talents of gold (232), two tripods and four caldrons, and a costly Thrakian goblet; these he placed in a mule-car (266), which Idaios drove. And as they set forth, Zeus made a bird of omen, a black eagle, to appear on the right hand. At his bidding, Hermes (340) put on his sandals that waft him

he is prepared to steal the body of Hektor). 221. There is an express distinction (cf. i. 62) between priests and seers: the former are ministrants of the temple (*hierous*=sacrificer, *areter*=reciter of prayers), the latter are simply advisers, under the patronage of Apollo as god of augury. Divination is nearly limited to augury, but not quite; for dream-seers are mentioned (i. 63, v. 149), and here (cf. 'Od.' xxi. 145, xxii. 318) the seer is a 'diviner from sacrifice' (altar-smoke, or incense?)—a step toward the later kind of divination from intestines. 230. Cf. iii. 126. The coverlets are for beds. The epithet 'white' implies a linen mantle (*pharos*, 'Od.' ii. 97, 'Works,' 198). 266. 'They drew out a smooth-running mule-wain and fastened a basket thereon (to hold the treasure, 'Od.' xv. 131), and took from its peg the yoke of boxwood with knob (*omphalos*) and guiding-rings (or hooks, to which the neck-straps were attached; but xvi. 467 ff. the horses are harnessed to the yoke alone), and brought forth therewith a cord ('yoke-band') nine cubits long; then they pinned the yoke in the bend of the pole and lashed the pole-end to the knob and fastened it to the post.' The post was a support in front of the waggon; the cord, as Mr. Leaf explains, was attached at its middle point to the knob on the yoke, from which it was wound, each length thrice, round the upright pole-end; the remaining lengths were then fastened back to the front of the waggon, whereby the pole was held up and rendered less liable to break. In the Hellenic chariot the upward-bent pole-end was sometimes of metal and ornamental in shape. 340.

over sea and land, and flew to earth; he met them in the guise of a princely youth (347) beyond the tomb of Ilos (349), and led them to the hut (448), and with his wand shed sleep on the eyes of the sentinels.

Then kingly Priam entered suddenly,
Drew near unto Achilles, clasped his knees,
And kissed the warrior's dread death-dealing hands,
Which brought to doom full many of his sons.
All looked on him in sheer amaze, as when
Appears some culprit, caught by instant doom (480),

Hermes was a rustic and popular god, son of the Arkadian Maia ('mother'), for whom a place was found in the Homeric Olympos as the gods' messenger. Whether this was part of the popular conception, or superadded, depends on the interpretation of his name and archaic epithets. Thus 'Hermes,' if akin to *herma*, 'source,' may denote a luck-bringer, or if derived from *herj=ser* ('join'), may mean the friendly intermediary between gods and men (cf. Schömann, 'Theog.' 938), while his epithets *diaktoros*, *argeiphontes* may describe the 'nimble,' 'swift-appearing' messenger, *akaketa* (*akâ*, *akên*) the 'softly-going,' *erionnios* 'the serviceable.' The two last are otherwise explained as 'healer' and 'wool-grower' (god of flocks); the former is strangely transferred to Prometheus, 'Theog.' 614, as (like Hermes) a friend of man. This god was loaded with manifold functions, much the same as those which the author of 'Theog.' 411-52 (perhaps taking hints from the Hermes cult) assigns to Hekate. He already carries the golden wand (*rabdos*, *rapis*, 'Od.' v. 87), which was transformed into the herald's staff (*kerukeion*, *caduceus*), when he became the patron of heralds, and wreathed with serpents instead of ribbons, when he became the guide to the Under-world ('Od.' xxiv.). 347. Lit. 'judge': the word recurs only 'Od.' viii. 258 ('umpire'). 349. The eponym of the city Ilios (see xx. 232.) The tomb may well have been real. 448. Built of pinewood, but on the scale of a great house, with courtyard, vestibule (*prodomos*), verandah, hall (*megaron*); in the 'Embassy' (ix.) there is an inner part (*muchos*),

Who flies his country for a deed of blood,
 And seeks his wealthy host 'mid strange abodes ;
 And all the village marvels. So they gazed
 Awe-struck on Priam's heavenly form, and he
 To wondering Achilles spake his prayer :
 ' Godlike Achilles, of thy sire bethink thee,
 Whose feet are far as mine upon the path
 Of woful eld. And haply neighbouring foes
 Are troubling him, and there is none to stay
 Ruin and waste ; but still his heart is gladdened
 With news of thee, his living son beloved,
 And daily hope to greet thee home from Troy.
 But mine is utter woe ; of all my bravest
 In broad Troy born, none—no, not one—is left.
 Fifty there were, when your Greek chivalry
 Came hither, nineteen of one mother's womb,
 The rest my women bare me in the house.
 But furious Ares struck them down, near all ;
 And him, the chief of all, the chiefest guard
 Of town and people, thou hast slain but now,
 Battling for his own fatherland—my Hector.
 For him I come, and royal ransom bring
 Here to the ships, to win him back from thee.
 Fear thou the gods, Achilles, and take pity,
 For thy poor father's sake, on one more piteous.
 Behold ! what never child of earth has borne,
 I bear to raise my hand in supplication
 Unto the lips of him who killed my sons.'

Achilleus wept in pity for his own father and for
 Patroklos, and spake :

' Ah, hapless one ! thy soul is sorely tried.
 How durst thou steal to our Achæan fleet
 Alone before my face, who slew and spoiled
 Thy gallant sons ? An iron heart is thine.

but it is still a *klisie* (hut), not a house (515, 572). 480. Or
 'strong infatuation,' in reference to the deed which has driven

Prithee, be seated here. Heavy the care
 Within our breasts, but let it rest awhile ;
 For heartsick groaning profits naught. The gods,
 Who know not grief themselves, have spun for us,
 Poor mortal wights, a life of suffering.
 The king of the levin on his floor hath laid
 (527) Two urns, with evils and with blessings charged ;
 And oftentimes he deals a mingled lot
 From both, and weal and woe by turns befall ;
 But him, whose dole is of the worser kind,
 He brings to scorn ; curst famine chases him (532)
 O'er the fair earth, outcast of gods and men.
 And thus was Peleus from his birth enriched
 With the gods' brightest boons, in wealth and fortune
 Surpassing all men, king of the Myrmidons,
 A mortal wedded to a maid divine.
 Yet, even him to spite, his house was void
 Of princely sons, his one child born to die
 Untimely ; and e'en now I comfort not
 His dying years, while here I cleave to Troy,
 Far from my country, vexing thee and thine.
 And thou ('tis said) wast happy, sire, of yore,
 In wealth and heirs excelling all who dwell
 North beyond Lesbos, Makar's settlement (544),

the homicide into exile. He applies to a wealthy stranger to take him under his protection as a retainer. 527. Large earthenware jars (*pithoi*), such as were used for storing grain, oil, wine (Schuchhardt, p. 330). The storage jar suggested the Hesiodic myth of Pandora ('Works,' 42 ff.). The simple moral of this allegory (or 'arrested' myth) is that every man has some ills, and some men every ill, to bear. 532. Or 'torment' (*lit.* 'gadfly,' the foe of cattle ; there was a goddess so named at Smyrna, to whom black bulls were sacrificed). 544. The name of a 'degraded' god, probably derived from the Tyrian 'Melkarth,' as it recurs frequently in the Phoenician zone (Cyprus, Crete, Rhodes, Marathon). 545. The upper or higher Phrygia is distinguished from the region of the Sangarios (iii. 184 ff.), whence

And all below the expanse of Hellespont
 And upper Phrygia ; yet, since heaven's lords
 Have brought this bane upon thee, evermore
 Turmoil and slaughter rage around thy city.
 Take heart and be not overborne with woe.
 No grief will e'er recall thy noble son
 To life. Forbear, lest death come nigher thee.'
 Then Priam spake, the sire of mien divine :
 'Not so, thou child of heaven, no seat for me,
 While Hector lies unhallowed in thy tent.
 O quick restore him for mine eyes to see.
 This noble ransom, lo ! 'tis thine to take
 Home to thy land. Blest be it unto thee,
 Since thou didst stay thine hand at sight of me.'
 But swift Achilles, frowning, answered him :
 'Old man, provoke me not. 'Tis my free purpose
 To give thee back thy Hector ; with such hest
 She, mine immortal mother, very child
 Of the ancient sea-god, came to me from Zeus.
 Aye, Priam, I know thy secret : 'twas a god
 Guided thee hither to our wingèd ships.
 No man had dared—no, not the lustiest youth—
 To pierce our camp. He had not 'scaped my guards
 Nor easily had forced yon barrèd gates.
 I charge thee, rouse no more my troubled spirit,
 Lest e'en on thee, a suppliant in my tent,
 I lay mine hands despite the god's command.'

So his squires brought in the ransom, and the
 handmaids cleansed the body, and Achilleus laid it
 on a bier ; and he called on his comrade :

'Oh, be not wroth, Patroclus, if thou knowest,
 In yonder house of death, that I have given
 Thy noble foe unto his loving sire.
 For no mean quittance has he paid, and thou (594
 Shalt have an ample meed of all this wealth.'

* * * * *

'Lo ! now thy son is ransomed, as thou wouldest.

Yonder he lies upon a bier, and thou
 Shalt e'en behold him on thy road at daybreak.
 Now take we thought of supper ; Niobe (602)
 The fair-haired, even she, was fain to eat,
 What time her children twelve, six youths and maids,
 All in their flower, had perished in her halls.
 These Artemis and those Apollo wroth
 Slew with the silver bow ; for she would taunt
 Their mother, beauteous Leto, and contrast
 Her larger offspring with that pair divine.
 So were they twain the death of all her twelve.
 For nine long days they weltered in their blood ;
 For Kronos' son had turned the folk to stone,
 And burial had they none, till heavenly hands
 Laid them to rest ; then, spent with weeping sore,
 She craved a meal. And now, herself a stone,
 Amid the crags of lonely Sipylus (614),
 The storied haunt of happy nymphs, who flit
 Round Acheloüs, evermore she broods
 On the gods' cruelty. Come, noble sire,
 Take we our meal. Hereafter shalt thou mourn
 Thy well-belovèd child upon the way
 To Troy, and many a tear shall be his due.'

When they had supped, Priamos slept without in the portico. In the morning Hermes awoke him and drove the car with the body to the ford of the river (692) ; there he departed. Cassandra (699) saw them

Hekabe came (xvi. 718). 594. Some of the treasure would be entombed with his ashes in Thessaly. 602. Cf. 'Od.' xi. 582. Pausanias (i. 21-3) notices a rock on Mount Sipylos, which looks from a distance like a woman bowed with grief and weeping (when it rains), and which was believed to be Niobe turned to stone ; see Prof. W. M. Ramsay, 'J. H. S.' III. against the identification of this with the 'Niobe' figure near Smyrna (a rock-cut image of Kybele). The poet borrowed, of course, from a local legend to the same effect. Acheloös is here a local

from Pergamos, and the people went forth to meet them. When the body was laid out, the minstrels raised a dirge (723), and Andromache led the lament :

'Husband, too early were thy days forespent,
And thou hast left me desolate in thy house ;
And this thy boy and mine, heir of our woe,
Is still a babe, and ne'er shall reach his prime ;
Ere then the city will be sheer destroyed.
Fallen is her guardian, who kept watch and ward,
Chaste wives' and tender children's sure defence.
Soon in yon hollow barks shall they and I
Be borne away, and thou wilt go with me,
My child, to toil and drudge before the face
Of some hard master ; or a cruel death
Waits thee belike, when some revengeful Greek,
Whose sire or son or brother Hector slew,
Shall seize thy arm and dash thee from the walls.
Full many of them bit the dust of earth
'Neath Hector's hands. Stern foe in the bitter fray
Was he, thy sire ; therefore do all the people
Mourn him. And they, thy parents, O my Hector,
Must fondly weep and wail ; but sorest grief
Is left with me ; for from no bed of death
Thou gavest me thy hand, no thoughtful word
Spakest, to be a memory evermore
Abiding night and day amid my tears.'

Then Hekabe took up the lament :

'Child of my heart, my Hector best beloved,
In life thou wert the darling of the gods,
And dearly have they watched thee in thy death.
For swift Achilles sold my other sons,

(Lydian) river, not the great river of Epirus, as xxi. 194 and 'Theog.' 340. 699. Cassandra is mentioned also xiii. 366, but she is not yet a prophet. 723. Professional mourners 'lead' with

All whom he took, to Imbros and to Samos
 (753) And murky Lemnos o'er the barren deep.
 But when his biting blade had reft thy life,
 Ofttimes he trailed thee round Patroclus' tomb,
 His comrade whom thou slewest, as he would call
 The dead to life ! Yet now I see thee lying
 All fresh as dew and fragrant on thy couch,
 Like one on whom Apollo's silver bow
 Softly delivers death invisible.'

And last Helene made her plaint :

'O Hector, nearer to my heart wert thou
 Than all the brethren of my lord ; for still
 Bright Paris is my spouse. Would I had died
 Ere that he brought me hither unto Troy !
 (765) For all these twenty years—so long ago
 I went and saw my fatherland no more—
 No foul or scornful word I had from thee ;
 And if the rest reviled me in the house,
 Thy sisters fair or brothers, or their wives,
 Or e'en thy mother—tender is thy sire
 And fatherly—thou wouldst restrain and soothe them

a regular dirge ; the usage was, and is, common to Greece with the East. (Cf. Th. Bent, 'Cyclades,' ch. 10). 753. The epithet refers to volcanic smoke (cf. i. 594). 765. This appears to assume the legend (embodied in the 'Kypria') of an earlier fruitless expedition ten years before the commencement of the Trojan war. It must be a very late interpolation, like the allusions to Neoptolemos, xix. 326-33, xxiv. 465-7. The concluding line ('So they set about the burial of Hektor, tamer of the steed') was probably a rhapsodist's 'tag,' leading up to the 'Aithiopsis,' a sequel of the 'Iliad' by Arktinos. This was composed when the Milesians were exploring the Euxine (for it transported the heroized Achilles thither, viz. to Leuke), but before they had reached Kolchis (for it brought the Amazons from Thrake, not from the Caucasus), *i. e.* before B.C. 700.

With thy soft words and gentle courtesy.
Therefore I mourn for thee with aching heart,
And for my loss ; no kindly friend have I
In broad Troy-land : all shrink away from me.'

For nine days they gathered timber for the pyre, and on the tenth day burned the body and gathered the bones in a golden coffer ; this they laid in a hollow grave and piled stones thereon, and reared a barrow, and returned to feast in the palace.

Our text of the 'Iliad' is substantially founded on the recension by Aristarchos (*flor.* B. C. 160). The vulgate from which this was derived, however disordered, was one which had been securely preserved in writing from the time when this poem and the 'Odyssey' were completed and edited for the purpose of professional recitation. The mass of contemporary epic poetry, which must have included much of kindred authorship, was lost for the converse reason, not having been similarly worked up from the primitive 'loose' form. The recitations were connected with local religious festivals and prefaced by 'Hymns' (quasi-heroic tales of the gods), the work of the rhapsodists themselves, who left their tradition (subsequently embodied in apocryphal 'lives' of 'Homer') in the Ionian region whence the Trojan epic had made its way. It is known from the orator Lykourgos (*Leocr.*, 102) that these recitations were of old standing at Athens : according to *Diog. Laert.* i. 2, 57 they were established there from the time of Solon. Many copies which had been preserved in different cities, and some bearing the names of literary editors (*e. g.* Antimachos, *circ.* B. C. 412), were accessible to Aristarchos in the Museum of Alexandria. In the principal manuscript, Venetus A. (of the tenth cent.), are preserved large remains of the Alexandrian criticism : see Prof. Jebb's 'Homer,' ch. iii.

CHAPTER IV

THE 'ODYSSEY'

i. 1-10 (I.*).

Muse, be our song of him, the crafty wight,
Who from the sack of Troja's holy keep
Went roaming far, full many folk assayed
In many a town, and spent his patient heart
With striving for his fellows and his life
Upon the deep. Yet were they all foredone
And perished in their blindness, fools! who ate
The kine of Helios Hyperion (8),
And forfeited the day of their return.

i. 11-87 (I.). Now, while the rest had come back from the war, Odysseus was belated in Kalypso's isle. All the gods pitied him save Poseidon his foe; howbeit he was far from Olympos, feasting with the Aithiopes [who dwell asunder, east and west, 23-4

i. 1-10. As this proem alludes to Helios (the Sun-god) but not to Poseidon, it appears to have belonged to the first unenlarged version (see xii. 448, xix. 279). 8. Cf. 'Theog.' 374. An odd appeal to the Muse is thrown in (by the editor?): 'Tell us likewise thereof, commencing where thou wilt' (10).

11-87. 23. The Aithiopes ('swarthy') are elsewhere located

(IV.).] It befell that they were assembled in council (27). Zeus told them how Odysseus was detained by her, the daughter of Atlas (52), because he had blinded Polyphemos, the son of Poseidon and Thoösa, daughter of Phorkys (71); Hermes should go straightway (85) and release him.

i. 88-444. (III., IV.). Athene went down and

in the East (*e.g.* iv. 84), and Poseidon is found (v. 287) passing the Solymoi on his way back. The name of the sea-god ('surging,' as Fick explains it) indicates his genuine Greek origin. 27. A duplicate of this assembly of the gods is introduced after the journey of Telemachos with an allusion to the plot of the suitors against him (v. 1-27). Here Hermes is to go 'straightway' (85), but he is not sent for several days. The gods had been debating about Orestes' murder of Aigisthos (cf. 297-302): they had *warned* the sinner through Hermes—a novel proceeding. 52. 'Atlas' is explained by Prof. Sayce as = 'Atel' ('darkness'), a god of the Phoenician mythology, who was hurled by El, his brother, into the nether abyss. His epithet 'baleful' may point to the 'dark' character which the Greeks ascribed to their rivals on the sea. He 'knows the sea-depths and keeps the tall pillars 'twixt sky and earth'—a variation of the 'pillars of Herakles' (Melkarth)? In the 'Theogony' he is one of the deposed Titans (746). 71. This supplements the story as told bk. ix.

88-444. This scene was evidently added by way of introduction to the whole poem, when it had been enlarged by the journey of Telemachos (ii.—iv.) and the visit to Laertes (xxiv.), which is anticipated (185-93). The interview with Athene-Mentes is skilfully designed to exhibit the first stirring of manly courage and sagacity in the youth's heart. But it is marred by strange makeshifts and mechanical copying (96-101, 356-66, 'Il.' xxiv. 340-2, viii. 390-1). Wilamowitz consequently assigns it, and the preceding piece likewise, to the 'compiler.' It appears rather to have been spoiled by enlargement (cf. H. Diintzer, 'Homerische Abhandl.' 14). A new harbour, 'Reithron,' is

alighted in Ithake and appeared to Telemachos in his father's house in the guise of Mentès (105), a prince of Taphos. There were assembled the wooers of Penelope, his mother, playing at draughts (107). While

invented (186). See M. R., 'Odyssey,' app. III. 105. This 'Mentes' (cf. 'Il.' xvii. 73) does not reappear in the poem. Taphos is probably an island (Meganisi) north of Ithaca, not one of the Echinades. The name 'Telemachos' has reference to Odysseus (as 'Astyanax' to Hektor, 'Il.' vi. 403), 'fighting afar' when his son was born (cf. xi. 448). He is known to the 'Iliad' (ii. 260, iv. 354). 107. An isolated allusion to the game: it is apparently the form of Greek 'draughts,' in which four counters were used, whence the word (*pessoi* from *pisures*). Cf. Forbes, 'Hist. of Chess,' app. II. 'Mentes' is bound for Temese (184) with a cargo of iron ('shining,' *i. e.* manufactured), which is to be bartered for copper. This place, according to Strabo, is the Italian Temesa or Tempse on the west coast of Bruttium, founded from Ætolia; its local hero was Polites, a comrade of Odysseus (Pausan. vi. 6). The copper would be shipped from Lokri on the eastern coast. There is less reason for identifying the name with Tamasos (Semitic *t-m-s*, 'smelting-house') in the interior of Cyprus, though copper was largely exported from that island (*cuprum* = *aes Cyprum*). Mentès' story is that Odysseus had once come to Taphos on his way home from Ephyre, and that he had gone to that place to get poison for his arrows (!) from 'Ilos,' son of Mermeros, who scrupled to give it. An Ephyre (Æol. for Ephora, 'watch-tower') in Thesprotia and another in Elis alike claimed Medea, whose son Mermeros was, and from whom he had his knowledge of poisons; which of the two is here meant depends on the location of Taphos. The notion of Odysseus poisoning his arrows is curiously false. Compare Tydeus, in the Cyclic 'Thebais,' savagely purposing to eat his enemy's brains. Wilamowitz argues that only the 'compiler' could have been guilty of it, and that he had in his mind ii. 328, where the wooers sarcastically *pretend* that Telemachos is going to fetch poison from (the

they feasted and Phemios the minstrel sang, the goddess spake with him. She charged him to assemble the men of Ithake and challenge the wooers. If his mother would marry, let her go to her father's house, that her kinsfolk might furnish the wedding-feast and the gifts (277-8); else let the princes depart. She counselled him likewise to go and seek tidings of his father at Pylos and Sparta. Then she flew away as a bird through an outlet (320) of the roof, and the young man deemed it was a god, for he felt strange might within him. Now Penelope entered and complained, because the minstrel sang of the Achaians' pitiful return; but Telemachos rebuked her (352), and she returned to her chamber. Then he declared his purpose unto the princes, Antinoös and Eurymachos. When the feasters were departed, he betook him to bed (425), and Eurykleia the nurse closed the door of his chamber. There he lay thinking all night on his journey.

ii. 1—iv. 847 (III.). At dawn the heralds summoned

Eleian) Ephyre to kill them all by mixing it in the wine. He infers from the reference to the Medea legend, combined with the allusion to the Italian Temesa (which implies a late date), that the author of this scene was a Corinthian of the eighth or seventh century. 277. See ii. 196. 320. *Opaia*, later *metopai*, the interstices between the beam-ends for light and ventilation. 352. He justifies the minstrel on the ground that 'men most applaud the lay which falls newest on the ear'—another indication that the Trojan story was no novelty in itself (cf. l. 10). 425. The editor has used the description of the swineherd's hut (!), xiv. 6, for the bed-chamber of Telemachos, and makes him sit on his bed while he takes off his doublet (by carelessly

an assembly. Telemachos took his place in his father's seat. First, the aged Aigyptios spake [weeping for Antiphos his son, who was gone with Odysseus: the Kyklops slew and ate him last, 17-24 (IV.)]. 'Welcome,' he said, 'was that assembly, and blest might he be who had summoned it!' (35). Then the herald handed the sceptre (37) to Telemachos, and he made his complaint against the wooers of his mother, who devoured his substance and dared not go to the house of her father Ikarios, that he might betroth her for a price (53) and bestow her on whom he would. Antinoös answered: 'She had beguiled them nigh four years (89) with her pretence of weaving (94) a shroud for Laertes; she was craftier than any of the women of old, Tyro (120) or Alkmene or Mykene: they would never depart till she married one of them.' Telemachos

copying 'Il.' ii. 42): being a sewn garment, this was put on and taken off like a shirt.

ii. 17-24. Inserted by way of dovetailing the different parts of the story. But cf. xvii. 68. 35. Telemachos hails this casual speech as an omen (*pheme*); the blessing, unconsciously spoken, is regarded as inspired. 37. The 'public' sceptre, which the herald kept. 89. The wooing thus began in the seventh year of Odysseus' wandering: but cf. xi. 115 ff.—94. The description of Penelope's ruse (weaving and unweaving the shroud each day and night) is adapted from her own account of it (xix. 138 ff.). The loom was an upright frame: the vertical threads (warp) hanging from the beam were attached to two horizontal rods, the odd to one, the even to the other; the weaver pulled these forward (close up to the breast, 'Il.' xxiii. 760) with one hand and with the other plied the shuttle, by which the cross-threads (woof) were shot through the interstices thus made by parting the threads of the warp. 120. 'Fair-faced'

made reply: 'He might not send his mother away against her will, for Ikarios would exact a heavy fine (132), and she would invoke the Erinyes (135) against him.' Halitherses warned the wooers, for he had knowledge of omens, and even then Zeus sent a sign (154). But Eurymachos defied him and counselled Telemachos to bid his mother return to her father's house, that her kinsfolk might furnish the wedding-feast and the gifts (196); till then they would remain and waste his substance. Telemachos declared that he desired a ship and would go to Sparta and Pylos; if he heard that Odysseus was dead, he would give his mother to one of them. Mentor reproached the men of Ithake, because they suffered the wrong-doing: he was the comrade of Odysseus, and had received the

(lit. 'white as curds'), not connected with 'Tyre.' Her history is told xi. 235 ff. Mykene, daughter of Inachos, is the eponymous heroine of Mykenai. 154. Two eagles rending one another and flying to the right. This presupposes the slaughter of the wooers: consequently the journey of Telemachos cannot have been separate from the Retribution. 196 f. These lines (awkwardly repeated, i. 277 f.) imply, if not the later usage of the dowry, a transitional use of the word *hedna*, which elsewhere denotes the suitor's gifts or bride-price (see 'Il.' ix. 146). Here they are gifts to the bridegroom from the bride's father and kinsfolk. It would appear that, pending the growth of the new custom, the bridegroom's gifts were sometimes returned to him in part: this seems to be meant here ('ample gifts, such as are wont to follow—*i.e.* go back—with a well-loved daughter'). A special term for the dowry (*proix*) came in subsequently. In Pindar and later poets the old Homeric word does duty and still fluctuates ('Pyth.' iii. 167 of wedding gifts from the guests, 'Ol.' ix. 16 of the dower). The corresponding verb (l. 53)

charge of his house (226). To him Leiokritos (242) answered yet more scornfully: 'Though Odysseus himself returned, he should not drive them out.' When the assembly was dispersed, Telemachos went down to the shore and prayed with washen hands (261) to the god who had spoken with him on the day before; thereupon Athene came to him in the likeness of Mentor, and promised to find him a ship and bear him company. So, while the wooers taunted him (328), she gathered a crew of twenty men and borrowed a ship of Noëmon, and Eurykleia made ready stores of meal and wine; she sware to keep the journey secret for eleven days or twelve (374). So they set sail (424). iii. As the sun rose from

preserves its true Homeric meaning. But the 'fine' (l. 132) may be a restitution of gifts 'returned' with Penelope. 226. 'Mentor' is himself here, though the poet has forgotten to make him the 'son of' somebody; elsewhere he is merely Athene in disguise. The name is from *menos* ('force'), not = monitor. It is in the person of Telemachos himself that the goddess enlists the crew and persuades Noëmon. 242. 'Chosen from the people'; cf. Leiodes, 'pleasing the people.' 261. Cf. xii. 336, 'Il.' vi. 266 f. 374. This might be done, as Penelope does not come to the hall except when necessary: her appearance in bk. i. is a makeshift. 424. The mast is raised 'within the hollow *mesodme*' ('mid-structure'), probably a three-sided box or tabernacle opening aft, in which the mast was secured with the aid of a peg from side to side; hence it could easily be lowered into the crutch at the stern (*histodoke*, 'Il.' i. 434). According to another view, the *mesodme* was merely a cross-plank with a hole for the mast (see Prof. Perrin's edition of Ameis-Hentze 'Odyssey' i.-iv., where this explanation is supported by the word *mesomme* in a recently discovered Athenian inscription, denoting a great cross-beam in the naval arsenal). Cf. xix. 37. Another

out the mere (1), they landed at Pylos (4), the keep of Neleus, when the people in nine (7) companies were sacrificing black bulls to Poseidon. Nestor of Gerenia with Peisistratos (36), his youngest son, made

term for the support of the mast is *histopede*, only bk. xii. The mast when raised is made fast with forestays (*protonoi*), and the sail hoisted on the yard and secured by braces (*hyperai*). The sheets would usually be fixed, as the necessity of tacking was obviated by rowing, and the sail only set when the wind was fair; hence the keel (*tropis*) was not made deep to grip the water but flat, as suitable for rowing: it was continued upward in the stem (*steire*), about which the 'purple wave' plays (the epithet describes the shimmer of broken water). On landing (iii. 10), the sail is furled by trussing or 'brailing' it to the yard, which is sometimes lowered and stowed in the hold (xii. 170).

iii. 1. The ocean stream. 4. The Messenian city, famous for the Athenian siege (Thukyd. iv. 3), and for the naval battle of Navarino: the poet accurately makes Pherai the halting-place (488); it was about thirty-five miles from the Messenian Pylos, and twenty-eight from Lakædaimon. The place is rightly called 'sandy,' though the city itself is here supposed to be at some distance from the sea (423, xv. 182 f.). The Neleian 'Pylos' of the 'Iliad' is the same, but Nestor's territory extends northward beyond the Alpheios ('Il.' v. 545). 7. The number is that of the cities in Nestor's kingdom ('Il.' ii. 591 ff.). Pylos had a paramount interest for the Ionian Greeks. The noble families of their oldest cities traced their descent to the Neleidae and worshipped Poseidon, the father of Neleus, as their own god. Neleus had founded Pylos when driven from Iolchos in Thessaly by Pelias, his brother; his Athenian descendant led the Ionian settlers, who took Miletos from the Karians, while Kolophon was founded directly from Pylos. His character is summed up xv. 229 ('the proudest of men') and illustrated by a long episode. From him Nestor derives the trait of wilfulness (*ib.* 213). The portrait of the latter is quite distinct from, though not opposed to, the Nestor of the 'Iliad.' In his own home he is a plain,

them welcome. He told of the homeward voyaging from Troia (102): how he left Odysseus at Tenedos and was parted from Menelaos (169), how Agamemnon was murdered by Aigisthos (308) and Orestes

sturdy patriarch, strong of will, strict and imperious. His house contrasts in its simplicity with that of Menelaos: his family dwell together (cf. 396), and at the sacrifice his six sons aid, wielding the five-pronged forks (to keep the pieces in place on the altar), while his wife and daughters and his sons' wives raise the ceremonial cry of joy (*ololeu*) as the victim is felled. His archaic designation is 'Gerenian' (Gerenia = Enope, 'Il.' ix. 150?). 36. Cf. Herod. v. 65. The Athenian Peisistratos was named after Nestor's son. 102 ff. A large part of this book and the next is occupied with tales of the Greek heroes, sequels of the Trojan war—the adventures of Menelaos, the murder of Agamemnon and (incidentally) the suicide of Aias, son of Telamon (iii. 109; cf. xi. 543 ff.), the fate of the Lokrian Aias (iv. 499 ff.), the return of Diomedes (iii. 181), Neoptolemos (*ib.* 189), Philoktetes (*ib.* 190), Idomeneus (*ib.* 191), the death of Achilleus (*ib.* 109), etc. All this proves the existence of a mass of Epic poetry, still probably floating in lays, out of which the later 'Cyclic' poems were constructed. The poet borrowed from these lays for the purpose of diversifying his story, but the tales are clumsily abridged: *e.g.* the quarrel between the Atreidai is described as due to the 'wrath of Athene,' but the reason of her wrath is passed over: it was presumably the seizure of Kassandra in her temple by Aias (he is 'hated of Athene,' iv. 502). 169. Nestor's voyage across the Aegean is described minutely and from the point of view of an Ionian pilot: he debated whether he should cross direct from Lesbos to Euboea 'by way of Psyra' (a small island north-west of Chios), keeping Chios itself on the left, or keep inside of Chios 'by windy Mimas' (the Erythraian promontory), *i.e.* take the safer route through the Cyclades. There was a temple of Poseidon on the headland of Geraistos, where he lands. 308. We have three accounts of the death of Agamemnon in the

avenged him. He counselled Telemachos to go to Lakedaimon and enquire of Menelaos, for that he had travelled perforce long and far ere his return, even to Aigypptos. At nightfall they made their offering to Poseidon, duly slicing and burning the tongues (341). Then Athene suddenly departed in the semblance of a sea-eagle, and Nestor knew that Telemachos' companion was none other than the daughter of Zeus, the driver of the spoil, Tritogeneia (378): he vowed to the goddess a yearling heifer, and that evening poured a libation of wine to her with his sons and his daughters' husbands. In the morning the household assembled and they made their sacrifice. Laerkes the

'Odyssey' (cf. iv. 514 ff., xi. 397 ff.). In this version Aigisthos first gets rid of a minstrel, whom the king had left in charge: Klytaimnestra is seduced reluctantly (for she had 'good understanding'): the murderer makes thank-offerings to the gods, precious stuffs and golden ornaments, which are 'hung' on altars or trees (274). The poet is acquainted with the Athenian legend of Orestes and his revenge on his mother (unless ll. 309 f. are interpolated). In the second version Aigisthos has a gang of confederates; in the third Klytaimnestra aids him, and herself kills Kassandra. 341. This rite was peculiarly Athenian; cf. Aristoph. 'Birds,' 1705: 'Everywhere in Attica we finish the sacrifice with tid-bits of tongue.' Another indication of Ionian affinity is the reference to 'holy Sounion, the headland of Athens.' 383. Cf. Numbers xix. 2. There is no other mention of a 'goldsmith' (425). The gilding of the horns (overlaying with gold foil) is a novelty: it recurs in the 'Doloneia' ('Il.' x. 292-4). 396. The married sons and the sons-in-law have chambers detached, but probably accessible from the courtyard (cf. 'Il.' vi. 243 ff.). Peisistratos and Telemachos sleep in the verandah. The master's chamber is in the 'recess' of the house, *i. e.* at the back, behind the women's hall, and accessible only to the mistress (*des-poina*,

goldsmith (425) gilded the horns of the heifer; Nestor's sons led it forth and brought lustral water in a basin of flowered (440) work and barley-meal in a basket; another held the axe and another a dish for the blood (444), and Nestor himself began the rite with the washing of hands, and prayed and burned the forelock. Then they sprinkled the meal (447) and felled the victim, while the women raised their cry, and they held up the head and cut the throat, and presently cut slices from the thighs and wrapped them in a double layer of fat and laid raw pieces thereon: these Nestor burned on the wood and poured wine over them; and when the thighs were consumed and they had tasted the inwards, they roasted the remainder on spits. Meanwhile Polykaste, the youngest daughter, bathed (468) and anointed Telemachos, and he feasted and took his leave with Peisistratos. Together they mounted a chariot and went their way to Pherai (488). There they rested for a night in the house of Diokles, and at dawn they set forth and

cf. *potnia*, Sk. *pátinī*), who makes the bed. 440. In relief: cf. Schuchhardt, fig. 238. 444. The blood was sprinkled on the altar as in the Hebrew rite (Levit. iii.). 447. Groats of barley, as though to add 'savour' to the sacrifice; these were sprinkled on the victim's head, from which a lock was cut by way of consecrating it. Cf. 'Il.' ix. 214, 'Od.' xii. 363. Slices from the thighs enveloped in fat and pieces from other parts were then burned as a symbolical offering of the carcase. The eating of the inwards was the beginning of the sacrificial feast, corresponding to the libation which preceded the drinking. 468. A formula used of the women-servants (*e.g.* iv. 49) is mechanically copied so as to make it appear that Polykaste herself 'bathed and

fared across the fertile plain (495). iv. At sunset they came to Lakedaimon (1). There was Menelaos giving a feast for the wedding of Hermione, his daughter, with the son of Achilleus, and of his stripling son Megapenthes. The squires received them and unyoked their horses; the handmaids bathed and anointed them (49), and Menelaos regaled them (66). As they marvelled at the wealth of the palace—for it was bright with bronze and gold and amber (73) and silver and ivory—he told how he had

anointed' the guest. There is no valid evidence of such a custom as Homeric: it cannot be inferred from the exceptional description of Kirke (x. 361), nor from the fiction concerning Helen (iv. 252), which is a makeshift to explain how she detected Odysseus in his disguise (as a beggar!). The metal ('burnished') bath (*asaminthos*) is frequently mentioned in the 'Odyssey': in 'Il.' x. it is strangely introduced in the Greek camp. 495. A fiction: in reality the mountain-range (Taygetos) between Pylos and Sparta could only have been traversed on foot.

iv. 1. Copied from 'Il.' ii. 581, where Lakedaimon (the *district*) is described as 'hollow' (pent between Taygetos and Parnon) and 'rifted' (in allusion to the rocky sides of the Eurotas valley, fissured by earthquakes, Thukyd. i. 101). 12. His son by a slave woman, *doule* (a born slave: the word is used again, 'Il.' iii. 409, contemptuously, but not elsewhere in Homer). In the sketchy description of the wedding-feast, the dancing (17-20) is borrowed from 'Il.' xviii. 604-6. 66. On the ox-chine, his own portion and prerogative; compare the actual Spartan usage (Herod. vi. 56). 73. Compare the pseudo-Hesiodic 'Shield of Herakles,' 142, where amber is combined with gold, ivory, and gypsum (*titanos*). It is mentioned again (xv. 460 and xviii. 296), beads of amber combined with gold. It is still plentiful on the shores of the Baltic, whence the Phoenicians brought it, and it was likewise found, in the earth, in Liguria and Spain. The same word *elektron* (from *alk*, to flash, cf.

t ravelled, getting riches, in Kypros (84) and Phoinike and Aigyptos, as far as the Aithiopes and the Sidonioi and the Eremboi and Libye (84). Then Helene (121) entered, and three handmaids with her; one placed her chair (123), another brought a woollen rug, another a wool-basket of silver with wool of violet hue (136) on the distaff. Quickly she knew Telemachos, and sad was their talk of Odysseus, for Menelaos loved him well, and Peisistratos be-

elector, the 'shining sun') denoted also pale gold (gold with a natural alloy of silver), but the earlier meaning is more probable here. 84. The name 'Phoinikes' (and 'Phoinike' for the country) came in with the growth of regular trade between the Greeks and these 'dealers in purple.' It occurs only once in the 'Iliad' (xxiii. 744), but in both poems alike the Phoenicians are known as 'Sidonians,' wherever their art is mentioned. The Eremboi cannot be certainly identified, but the context points to northern Syria; the name may possibly be derived from 'Aram.' 121. A more elaborate, though not more subtle, portrait of Helen than that in the 'Iliad' (iii.). The latter is recalled (1) in the description of her golden (gold-tipped) distaff charged with dark-blue wool, and her silver wool-basket, moving on wheels (cf. 'Il.' xviii. 375), the edges 'finished' (overlaid) with gold; (2) in the allusion to her penitence, quickly turned into flattery of her husband (264). There is added the trait of quick feminine intuition (a kind of divination, xv. 172), contrasting with the slowness of Menelaos, whose soft and kindly temper is shown here as in the 'Iliad.' A curious illustration of her cleverness or quasi-inspiration is brought in l. 279. ff.: she tried (being tempted by 'some god,' as Menelaos charitably puts it) to disconcert the Greek chiefs in the 'wooden horse' by mimicking their wives' voices! This has a significant parallel in the Hymn to the Delian Apollo (161-4), where the damsels at the Ionian festival 'lay a spell upon the tribes-folk: for they are skilled to mimic the voices of every people

thought him withal of Antilochos his brother, whom Memnon slew. But when they had supped, Helene mingled in the wine an easeful drug (220), that she brought from Aigypptos (229). Then they amused them with tales of the war and went to rest; and on the morrow Menelaos told Telemachos all the soothsaying of Proteus (365), which he heard in the haven of

and the fashion of their tambouring: every man would aver 'twas his own voice, so fairly framed is their song.' Another novelty is the narcotic drug (220). This may be opium or henbane, but cannot be hemp (Arabic *hashish*), which appears to have belonged only to India (*B'hangā*) and China; the herb itself is not indigenous to Egypt. Thebes had a fame for opium in the time of Diodoros: it is a fair presumption that this was one of the 'many drugs, wholesome and hurtful intermingled,' which the soil of Egypt bore. The drug was 'cast' (not poured) into the wine; this would apply to the juice of the poppy-heads hardened and formed into a cake.—The whole narrative implies some acquaintance with Egypt. 'Thon,' whose wife gave the drug, is a genuine Egyptian name (Herod. ii. 113). What the poet says of the people ('every one a leech skilled above all mankind, very children of Paieon,' cf. 'Il.' v. 401, 899) is true (of the priesthood); cf. Herod. ii. 84. 'Thebe' (126) is probably Te-pe, the Egyptian (popular) name of the city. 'Aigupptos' perhaps=Ha-ka-Ptah, 'precinct of Ptah,' the sacred name of Memphis: still the name of the 'river of Egypt' (Gen. xv. 18), as well as the country; 'Neilos' first occurs in the 'Theogony' 331. 'Pharos' (355) is the historic island, which Alexander connected by a mole with the mainland; the distance, however, is magnified to a 'day's sail.' 'Elusion' (Elysium), l. 563, may be 'Aalu,' a part of the Egyptian Heaven. It is a region of the earth (not in Hades), where the west wind blows cool and soft from the Ocean, as in Scherie (vii.). We have no other hint in Homer of a region set apart for demigods; for such is Rhadamanthys, and Menelaos is privileged as son-in-law of Zeus. Cf. Hesiod, 'Works,' 159 ff. 365. The legend seems to

Pharos : how Aias (499) had perished by the trident of Poseidon, and Agamemnon was waylaid and slain at a feast by Aigisthos ; how he had seen Odysseus in Kalypso's isle ; the wizard had prophesied of Menelaos himself, that he should not die but dwell in the cool of Elysion (563) with Rhadamanthys. He besought him to remain yet eleven days or twelve (588), and promised to give him a Sidonian bowl of silver, whereof the brim was finished with gold. [So they conversed, and guests came to the palace of the divine king, bringing some sheep and some wine, and their fair-kerchiefed wives sent bread, 620-5 (IV.).] Now the wooers in Ithake learned from Noëmon of Telemachos' departure ; for he missed Mentor and marvelled. They deemed that he had but gone unto the fields or to visit the swineherd (640). But when they knew his purpose, they devised to lay an ambush and kill him. Antinoös embarked with twenty armed

have been borrowed from Chalkidike, which the Ionians had colonized : a Proteus ('first inhabitant') appears there as son of Eïoneus (eponym of Eïon on the Strymon), and he may have been represented as a sea-giant and keeper of the sharks which infested the sea about Mount Athos, Herod. vi. 44 (cf. Wilamowitz, *op. cit.* p. 27). The picture of Odysseus' men disguising themselves in seals' skins is suggested by the primitive method of stalking. Eidothoë, who assists the stratagem, plays the part of the kindly daughter of the ogre, which is familiar in stories of this kind. 588. A makeshift, to allow for the ambuscade of the wooers, etc. 620-4. This must refer to an *eranos* (club-feast, cf. i. 226, and Hesiod, 'Works,' 773) at Sparta. It is a mere stop-gap, not inserted by the poet himself, for it barely coheres with what goes before : the editor may have cut short the preceding speech of Menelaos. 640. Eumaios : this casual

men; they fixed the oars (782) and set sail and landed for that night. Meanwhile Penelope heard all from Medon the henchman, and would not be comforted; howbeit Athene sent her a fair dream in the likeness of Ipthime, her sister. And Antinoös set sail again: they lay in wait in the harbour of Asteris (846).

v. 1-27 (III.). Now the gods assembled at dawn. Athene complained that Odysseus was prisoned in the house of Kalypso, while the princes were set upon killing Telemachos. Zeus replied that she might aid him as she would and frustrate his enemies.

v. 28—vii. 331 (I.). Therewith he sent Hermes to command Odysseus' return: in twenty days he should reach Scherie on a raft, and the Phaiakians should convey him to his own land. So the god (43) fared across the sea. He found Kalypso in her grotto amid a forest of alder and aspen and cypress (64), wherein

mention of him without name indicates that the composer had the whole story before him. 816. A 'little isle' (invented) in the strait between Ithake and Samos (Same).

v. 1-27. This assembly of the gods is nothing more than a duplicate inserted to assist the transition and bring in the quest of Telemachos as sanctioned by Zeus. There is nothing to suggest that Athene is urging an appeal already made (see i. 27 ff.).

v. 28—vii. 331. 43. Iris, the other messenger, does not appear in this poem (see 'Il.' xxiv. 340). In the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, 314 ff., Hermes is sent to rescue Persephone when Iris has failed. The nymph as a goddess recognizes him at first sight. 64. *Kūparissos* (cf. Hebr. *kopher*, Gen. vi. 14), whence the name of the island Kypros, if it is rightly traced to the Phoenician (but see 'Il.' v. 330): this tree is not mentioned elsewhere in Homer. The cedar (*kedros*, Sansc. *kadar*?) or

owls and falcons roosted and chattering sea-crows (66) ; there was a garden-vine trailing about the cave, and fountains four, and meadows thick with violets and parsley (72). She heard the gods' behest, and bethought her how they were jealous when Eos loved Orion (121), and when Iasion embraced Demeter in the thrice-ploughed fallow-field (127). Howbeit she obeyed and bade him depart, if he would :

'What ! wilt thou go away, now—even now,
Home to thy fatherland ? Then fare thee well !
Yet, if thou knewest what a heavy tale
Of trouble Fate has meted, ere thou gain
Thy country, thou wouldst make thy dwelling here,
And keep my house with me, and be immortal,
Fain though thou art to look upon thy wife,
For whom thou daily longest evermore.
Yea, I aver myself the comelier
In shape and favour ; for your womankind
May nowise vie with heavenly mould and mien.'

'Spanish juniper,' which the nymph burns on her hearth, appears ('Il.' xxiv. 192) as the material of Priam's 'fragrant' treasure-chamber. With this is coupled *thyon*, some kind of resinous wood ? The alder, or 'alnus oblongata' (*klethre*, = German *ludere*, birch), was probably employed for the uprights, being a heavy wood. 66. Cormorants ? Dr. Merry points out that these birds, in the Southern seas, build their nests in the mangroves. 72. *Selinon* : cf. 'sellery' (misspelt 'celery') and 'parsley' (*petroselinum*). 121. Orion, like the beautiful youth Tithonos, was ravished by Eos (Dawn), a mythical explanation of the disappearance of the constellation from the eastern sky, where (in the early summer) it appears before daybreak. In this version of the tale he was slain by Artemis out of jealousy in 'Ortygie' (Delos, cf. xv. 403). 127. Cf. 'Theog.' 970.

So she gave him timber and tools (237), wherewith he made a raft (251) and drew it down to the sea with levers. Then he sailed for seventeen days, steering by the Pleiades and Boötes (272) and keeping on his left the Bear, whom they surname the Wain; she wheels evermore in one place, keeping her watch on Orion (274), and alone (275) never dips in Ocean.

237. An axe (*pelekus*, Sansc. *paraçus*) for felling trees, an adze for smoothing the timber and augers for boring. The description of the planing implies the use of a carpenter's line (*stathme*), a string rubbed with chalk or ochre and stretched along the plank, leaving a continuous line of colour if the plank is level. 251. The structure is indicated by the epithet 'well-bound' (lit. 'with many bindings'): the planks were knocked together with wooden (alder?) pegs (trenails) and morticings (dowels or coaks) to resist the vertical strain; uprights were then inserted, and on these a deck was laid 'high up,' *i. e.* well above the sea, which washed freely through the open frame. This deck was strengthened with gunwales and a fence of wattled work erected round it, with a backing of brushwood. Cf. Dr. E. Warre, 'J. H. S.' V., who compares this *schedia* (lit. 'raft of laths') to the primitive 'catamaran' (model in the South Kensington Museum). The raft is as broad as the 'floor of a broad merchant-ship' (250), which skilled shipwrights trace out with the '*tornos*,' the carpenter's implement for drawing curves, probably nothing more than a pencil working on a string (cf. 'Il.' xxiii. 255). The rudder is a simple paddle. Kalypso provides linen cloth (*pharos*) for the sail. The rigging consists of (1) halyards, to hoist the yard to the mast, (2) braces (lit. 'upper ropes'), fastened to either end of the yard, (3) sheets, attached to the lower corners of the sail: the braces served to trim the sail-yard according to the wind, the sheets to tighten or slacken the sail. 272 ff. These lines correspond with 'Il.' xviii. 486 ff., but Boötes is added (the 'ox-driver' = Arktouros, the 'bear-watcher,' see Hesiod, 'Works,' 566): this constellation is described as 'late (slow) in setting,' because from its vertical position it takes a long time in dis-

But when he was within sight of the land of the Phaiakes, Poseidon espied him from the mountains of the Solymoi (283)—for he was returning from the Aithiopes—and stirred all the winds and wrecked the raft. But he recovered it and drifted awhile. [And Ino came to his aid and gave him a veil, that should upbear him in the sea, 333-65, 373 (II.).] Then

appearing. 274. The Bear, revolving within the larger orbit of Orion, is supposed to be kept at bay by him; and as he moves upward from the horizon just when Orion rises in the east, the hunter appears to chase him away from the 'bath of Ocean.' 275. 'Alone': because this was the only group of stars in the Northern hemisphere which the Homeric Greeks knew as a constellation. Their successors continued to follow the same guide, while the Phoenicians steered by the pole-star (Cynosure). The instruction to keep the Bear on the left implies that Odysseus' course to Ithaca was due east or from north-west to south-east. See Miss A. M. Clerke, 'Familiar Studies in Homer,' on Homeric astronomy. 283. The historic name of the earlier Semitic inhabitants of Lykia (also 'Il.' vi. 184), displaced by the Termilae (Sayce, Herod. i. 173). 333. 'Kadmos' daughter, even Leukothea, who erst was a maiden of mortal speech, but now in the depths of the sea she hath gotten her meed of honour from the gods': she was worshipped at Corinth with her son Palaimon or Melikertes (the Tyrian Melkarth). An enlargement of the original story is visible in the scene of the shipwreck and rescue. *E.g.* the nymph mentions the 'land of the Phaiakes' by name (345), yet Odysseus does not know it afterwards (vi. 119). In the earlier version he was not aware of his offence against Poseidon till he had consulted Teiresias, nor has he any idea of propitiating the sea-god apart from the oracle (xi. 101-3): he thinks only of Zeus when the storm comes on (304). Yet he is made to say: 'I know that the Shaker of the earth is wroth against me' (423, cf. 446). The confusion is more evident (ix. 518 ff.), where the original motive is spoiled by Poseidon's parting taunt (see note). The Leukothea episode (333-65) is apparently

Poseidon with a mighty billow brake the timbers asunder like a corn-heap, but he bestrode one spar as it were a riding-horse (371). And the god went on his way grumbling to Aigai; but Athene stayed all the winds save Boreas. For two days and nights he strayed on the waves; on the third morn he saw land and swam ashore, as Athene prompted him, at a river's mouth, and laid him to sleep in a thicket (488). (vi.) Meanwhile the goddess went unto Scherie, where the Phaiakes (3) were settled, since the proud Kyklopes had driven them from Hypereia. She gave charge, for Odysseus' sake, to Nausikaa, the daughter of the king Alkinoös, speaking to her in a dream in the semblance of a maiden friend:

'Nausikaa, fie! what mother ever owned
A thing so reckless? Lo, the sheeny stuff
Lies lumbered there, and mark! thy wedding-day
Draws nigh, when thou must don thy bravery,
And furnish forth the bridegroom and his train
With bravest weeds, that make a pretty show,
Rejoicing sire and good-wife. Harken, dear!
Let us away at dawn and wash the clothes.
I'll go and be thy labourer. 'Tis full time
Thy gear were ready. For thou hast not long

an afterthought, l. 332 having been originally followed by 366-71, and l. 372 transposed from before l. 399. Thus, in the first version, Odysseus drifted for two days *on the plank*, and when he was within reach of the shore, stripped himself and *began* to swim (399); in the present version he swims all the time with the nymph's veil. 488. He is likened to the brand which is hoarded in the embers by a man who has no neighbours. Cf. Hesiod, 'Works,' 567.

vi. 3. The Corcyreans identified their island (Corfu) with

To be a maid. E'en now the chieftest lords
 Of our Phaeacian folk—they, of whose race
 Thyself art born—would woo thee. Come, I say,
 Urge thy fair sire to harness thee at daybreak
 A waggon and a team of mules, to carry
 Sashes and gowns and glossy coverlets.
 'Twere better e'en for thee to ride than go
 Afoot; the tanks are far away from town.'

Then she departed to Olympos (42). And Nausikaa besought Alkinöös :

the Homeric Scherie (cf. Thukyd. i. 35, iii. 70). This is likely enough, though Wilamowitz (*op. cit.* p. 170) shows that the local claim rested merely on a fictitious Ionian tradition, which arose from the Chalkidians' early exploration of this region (witness the Ionian names Makris, Othronos, Abantia, and Kephallenes, cf. Attic Kephalos). The Phaiakes are a people whose delight is in ships (hence the names Nausithoös, Nausikaa). All the folk have stations for their vessels (265). The picture of their gay, luxurious life may well have been drawn from the Ionian Greeks. Their city, however, recalls the Phoenician Tyre, built on a peninsula or mole (264) with harbours on either side. The nomenclature is simply invented (Scherie 'coast,' Hypereia 'highland,' Phaiakes 'dusky=western'), like the name Kalypso (=Oculina, 'concealer,' used again more fancifully in the Hesiodic catalogue, 'Theog.' 359), and Ogygie, her island (vii. 244)='ancient' (of the Styx, 'Theog.' 806). These personages and adventures were neither borrowed from, nor received into, the popular mythology (excepting a few appendages to the story of Odysseus, cf. 'Theog.' 1013-17). Scherie is imagined as a land in the far western sea, where Zephyros is genial (vii. 119), within reach of Elysion (*ib.* 323). Ogygie is called the 'navel of the sea' (but only i. 50), and is within twenty days' sail of Scherie. Yet Poseidon descries him from the mountains of the Solymoi! 42. 'Where, they say, is the seat of the gods, in the clear cloudless air with the white light above it, and no wind nor snow nor rain comes nigh.' (IV.) This supramundane Olympos is

'Wilt harness me a mule-wain, father dear,
 A high smooth-running wain, that I may take
 The goodly raiment, which is lying foul,—
 Ah me ! all foul,—and wash it in the river ?
 For thee 'tis comely, sitting 'mid the chiefs
 Of high degree in council, to be clad
 In neat apparel. And thy company,
 Five sons of thine—two married from the house,
 And lusty gallants three—are alway fain
 To go in new-washed clothes unto the dance.
 A manifold concern it is for me !'
 She paused, nor told the heyday in her heart ;
 But he surmised it all and answered her :
 'I grudge thee not the mules, nor anything.
 Away then, child ! My slaves shall harness thee
 A mule-car with a proper tentory' (70).

So she went down to the tanks by the shore. As she sang and played at ball (101) with her maidens, Odysseus awoke and marvelled ; so fair she was and tall as the sapling palm (162), which he had seen by Apollo's altar in Delos. When she had heard his tale and her maidens had given him food and raiment, Athene made him beauteous with thick

hardly Homeric. Zeus is described as 'dwelling in ether,' *i. e.* the pure sky, and there is clear light behind the veil of clouds which the Hours open and close ('Il.' v. 749). But Olympus has nowhere else so completely lost its original features as a mountain, on whose summits the gods are housed. 70. That is, awning : perhaps rather a basket (to hold the linen) fixed to the waggon, like that in which Priam's treasure is conveyed ('Il.' xxiv. 267). 101. The ball-play follows the rhythm of the song ; it is the counterpart of the men's dancing, viii. 370 ff., cf. 248, where they are described by a novel word as 'stepping in harmony.' 172. *Phoenix* : elsewhere only the 'Phoenician dye,' dark red ranging from crimson to purple (once of a 'bay' horse), whereas *porphura*

curling locks (231) like the hyacinth flower, and shed grace upon his head and shoulders, even as gold that is overlaid upon silver. Nausikaa spake to her maidens, as she gazed on him :

‘Hark ye, my white-armed damsels : I aver,
Olympus’ peers with one accord have sent
Yon prince in love unto our godlike race.
Methought he was uncomely ; now behold him
Fair as the gods in yonder heaven’s expanse.
Oh for a spouse so goodly, might it please him
To bide and make his dwelling here among us !’

Then he followed by the way that she showed to a grove of poplar near the city, that was sacred to Athene, and prayed to her : [howbeit she would not show herself to him for fear of Poseidon, 325-6, 328-31 (IV.)]. (vii.) While the king’s daughter dismounted and went in, he set forth and Athene cast a mist about him, that he might pass through the city unseen. As he was entering, the goddess met him in the likeness

denotes bright red and sometimes any bright colour. Here it is the palm (the ‘Phoenician tree,’ imported from Syria). There is a remarkable correspondence between this allusion and a passage in the Homeric Hymn to the Delian Apollo (l. 117) descriptive of the birth of Apollo and Artemis under this same tree, which was said to have sprung up miraculously to shelter their mother Leto in her travail. Fick claims this as an argument for identifying the editor of the ‘Odyssey’ with the author of the Hymn (Kynaithos). The sacred palm was seen in the temple precinct down to Roman times (Pliny, ‘N. H.’ xvi. 99, 44). 231. The hyacinth (blue-bell ?) illustrates the closely set curls : its Homeric epithets are ‘thick’ and ‘soft.’ The other simile suggests a fair skin and auburn hair : this agrees with xiii. 431, but not with xvi. 176. 328 ff. Cf. xiii. 341 ff.

of a damsel carrying a pitcher, and he enquired of her and followed, marvelling at the havens and ships and the walls with their palisades. She told him of the king and his wife Arete (54), the daughter of Rhexenor, who was brother of Alkinoös, and their father Nausithoös was the child of Poseidon by Periboia, the daughter of Eurymedon, who erst was king among the Gigantes (59). Then she departed over the sea to Marathon and wide-wayed Athenai and entered the strong house of Erectheus (81). Odysseus crossed the bronzen threshold into the palace; the walls were bright with bronze and a frieze of blue (87), the doors

vii. 54. Kirchhoff, 'Hom. Odyssee,' p. 320, notices that the author of the 'Eoiai,' according to the scholiast *ad loc.*, understood the phrase here used as meaning that the king and queen were 'of the same parents,' whereas with the appended pedigree the sense is 'of the same ancestors,' Alkinoös being the uncle of Arete; hence he infers that the pedigree is later than the 'Eoiai' (B. C. 600?). It is, however, presupposed l. 146, where Odysseus addresses her as 'daughter of Rhexenor,' and cannot be a mere interpolation. 59. The Homeric Gigantes (59, 206), like the Kyklopes, are affiliated to the sea-god, and are mortal (60). In the 'Theogony' (139, 187) both are the offspring of Gaia (Earth). 81 ff. Cf. 'Il.' ii. 557 ff., where the temple is mentioned in conjunction with the annual Panathenaic festival. Remains of this or a later temple on the same site (destroyed by the Persians, Herod. viii. 55) have been discovered adjoining the Erechtheum. It was twofold (cf. 'Il.' v. 447), divided between Athene and Erectheus, her rival Poseidon under another name. See 'Myths and Monuments of Ancient Athens,' D. § 20. Dr. Dörpfeld understands by the 'strong house of Erectheus,' a palace to which this hero's name was attached, standing within the temple precinct. Cf. Reichel, *op. cit.*, p. 45. 87. *Kyanos*: 'smalt' or glass paste

with gold; there were hounds on guard wrought of gold and silver, and golden torch-bearers. Fifty handmaidens were grinding corn and weaving fine linen (107). In the garden without were trees, whose fruit ripened winter and summer in the west wind (119), a vineyard ever teeming, a fountain that streamed through the garden-beds and another issuing in the court. As he entered the hall, the Phaiakian lords were pouring the last cup to Hermes (137), for it was bed-time. But Arete gave him welcome as he sat at the hearth (153), and the king commanded that

stained blue with copper ore. This meaning was inferred by Lepsius and Helbig from the later use of the word to denote lapis lazuli and an artificial imitation of it. A frieze of smalt adorned the wall of the palace at Tiryns (Schuchhardt, p. 117), and it has been found in necklaces, etc., at Mycenae; hence the description of the breastplate of Agamemnon ('Il.' xi. 24) may be taken as realistic. A similar enamel was largely used in Assyria and Egypt (*e.g.* the *ushabti*, British Museum, Fourth Egyptian Room, cases 114 ff.). 107. The spinning and weaving are described with picturesque minuteness. The quick movement of the women's hands as they spin off the yarn from the distaffs is likened to the shivering of aspen leaves. The linen (*othonai*, 'Il.' iii. 141) is of the closest texture ('close-thrummed'); oil is applied to the cloth, when woven, to give it a gloss. The Greek fuller used oil freely in cleansing linen (Athen. 13, 582 D). It is still dressed with oil as well as with 'weaver's glue.' Cf. Studniczka, *op. cit.* p. 49. The women's skill is ascribed to Athene. 137. Those who regard the Phaeacians as idealized Phoenicians and Hermes as a god of Phoenician traits (Gladstone, 'Juventus Mundi,' p. 302) claim this singular allusion as evidence; but it need not imply more than the god's office as giver of sleep. 153. In Homer the hearth (in common with the table, xiv. 158) is associated with the sentiment of duty to the guest and the suppliant: in the

a meal be served him at their board and a libation made to Zeus, the friend of suppliants; and thus he spake (186):

'Give ear, Phaeacians, chiefs in field and hall,
And I will utter what my heart commands.
Finish your banquet and go home to slumber;
To-morrow bid a larger company
Of lords to feast the stranger in our halls;
Offer we decent sacrifice, and then
Take thought to speed and set him on his road,
That he may quickly fare, though long the way,
And joyously to his own land, nor meet
Mischief or hurt the while, till he shall tread
His native soil. Thenceforward he must live,
As Fate and the stern Sisters spun his thread (197)
From the hour wherein his mother gave him birth.
But if he be a god from out the skies,
Then 'tis some fearful strange device of Heaven.
Full oft, amid our splendid hecatombs,
The gods reveal their forms, and feast with us,
Yea, seat them in our midst, or stand confessed,
If but some lonely traveller cross their path;
For know that, like the Giants' savage race (206)
Or the Cyclopes, we are half-divine.'

Odysseus answered:

'Nay, good Alcinous, put away the thought.
I am not as the gods, the deathless gods
Of the wide firmament, in face or form.
I am a man, and of all mortal kind
If ye know one with woe most heavy laden,
My griefs will cope with his. Yea, longer far—
So it pleased Heaven—my tale of toil and travail.

'Theogony' (454) it is deified. 186. The easy *bonhomie*, which is portrayed in Alkinoös, points surely to an Ionian model. 197. The thread is of flax: cf. 'Il.' xvi. 408 (fishing-line), v. 487

Enough ! Despite of sorrow, sup I must.
Sooth, there is naught that pesters mortal flesh
Worse than the froward belly, that will not
Be gainsaid, though the heart is sore and sick ;
And I, for all the sadness of my soul,
Obey it, eat and drink and take my fill,
And clean escape all troublous memories.
Bestir ye, sirs, at daybreak, and for pity
Suffer my pain to end, and set my feet
In mine own fatherland, to see my homestead,
My thralls, and fair high dwelling ere I die.'

When the company had departed, Arete asked him who he was (238) and whence, and who had given him the raiment he wore ; and he told his story :

' Far o'er the sea there lies the Ogygian isle,
Where Atlas' daughter dwells, a goddess dread,
Guileful Calypso of the wreathen locks.
Nor god nor mortal man consorts with her :
But I alighted there in evil hour,
A lonely guest ; for Zeus had wrecked and riven
My scudding bark with his bright thunderbolt
Amid the purple deep. . . For seven long years
I dwelt with her, bedewing evermore
The charmed robes she gave me with my tears.
Those years had run their course, another came,
And then, because her heart was changed, or Zeus
Warned her, she prayed and bade me to depart.
She gave me store of bread and mellow wine,
And robes that faded not, and launched a breeze,
A soft, warm breeze to speed my strong-set raft.
For seventeen days I sailed upon the deep ;
Then dark against the sky your hilly shore
Loomed, and my heart rejoiced. But woe is me !

(fishing-nets). The 'spinsters' (*klothes*) are only half personal, like the Harpies ('storm-winds') ; they mark the transition to

More hardship huddled on me : for the god
Of ocean, he who shakes the earth, arose
And roused the winds and heaped a mighty sea
Upon my path, and held me wearily
Moaning and moving not, until the blast
Shattered my raft. I swam athwart yon gulf ;
And wind and wave together bore me nigh
Your coast ; yet land I durst not, else the tide
Had whelmed and driven me on a frightful reef.
But I gave way and swam, until I neared
A river, where I saw a spot secure,
Smooth of all rocks and sheltered from the winds ;
And there I cast myself and drew my breath.
Beautiful night descended, and I stole
Up from that heaven-fed stream among the brakes,
And heaped the foliage round me ; deep repose
Heaven shed on me, and there upon the leaves
All night I slumbered with a heavy heart,
Till the day dawned and waxed toward the noon.
'Twas eve : sweet slumber left me. I espied
Thy daughter's handmaids on the sands at play,
Herself among them most divinely fair.
Her I besought, and good sense failed her not.
Light are young wits. Thou hadst not thought to find
A youthful maid so wise in such encounter.
She gave me bread and sparkling wine and raiment,
And in yon river she would have me bathe.'

And Alkinoös said :

'Nay, then, my daughter purposed not aright,
Fair guest, that she, whose suppliant thou wert,
Brought thee not with her damsels to my house.'

But Odysseus answered :

'Chide not the gentle maiden, noble sire.
Indeed, she bade me follow with her train,
But I was fearful and abashed and would not,
Lest thou shouldst see and fret thy heart withal ;
For cholerick are we creatures of the earth.'

Alkinoös replied :

‘ Not so ! I have a heart that ne’er was given
To hasty wrath. Fairness is best withal.
Would to the gods, Athene and Apollo
And sovereign Zeus, that thou—a goodly man,
And of like temper with me—wouldst remain,
Espouse my daughter, and be called my son !
Here shalt thou have a house and ample stock,
If ’tis thy will to stay. No man perforce
Shall hinder thee : forbid it, father Zeus ! ’

He promised that his sailors should convey Odysseus home on the morrow (318), though the way were longer than when they transported Rhadamanthys to visit (321) Tityos in far Euboa.

viii. 1-265 (II.). On the next morning Athene, in the guise of a herald, summoned the lords to the agora (6) ; Alkinoös announced his guest and bade them to the palace, while a ship was made ready, with a crew of two-and-fifty noble youths, and moored off the shore. So they thronged to the feast, and Demodokos, the blind (64) minstrel, took his seat

the three Fates (Moirai) of the ‘ Theogony ’ (217, 906). 318. Odysseus nevertheless remains another day and night. Hence the description of the games (viii. 1-265) is probably an addition. This may explain why the question of Arete (238) stands unanswered. 321. Judicially? Cf. xi. 567. Tityos was, however, worshipped as a hero in Euboa, according to Strabo.

viii. 6. It is constructed, on either side of a temple of Poseidon, with a low wall of stone (‘ heavy blocks, deep-bedded,’ vi. 267) and stone seats (‘ smoothed’). 64. Fick sees in Demodokos (‘ acceptable to the people’) the poet of the Hymn to the Delian Apollo, who describes himself as blind : ‘ Fare ye well, ladies all, and think of me hereafter, when any of earthly

(65) and chaunted to his lyre (67) a lay (74) that was in high renown, of the quarrel between Odysseus and Achilleus, that Phoibos foretold unto Agamemnon in Pytho (80). Odysseus covered his head (85) and wept, as he listened. Then the king led the way to the agora. There the princes contended in the foot-race (124) and wrestling and leaping and hurling and

kind coming hither, a stranger travel-worn, shall inquire: Damsels, what man is most welcome of the minstrels who resort here, and in whom do ye chiefly delight? Then make ye a kindly answer, one and all: 'Tis a blind man, and he dwells in rugged Chios. His songs will be prized even in after-time.' He conjectures that the same poet inserted the story of the blinded Thamyras ('Il.' ii. 595) in allusion to himself. 65. *Thronos*: a high arm-chair, usually placed against a wall or pillar, as here, sometimes with a footstool fixed to it. Helbig identifies this with the round, and *klismos* (or *klisie*) with the square form of chair found, e. g. in early Italian tombs. The *diphros* was a low settle without back or arms. 67. A four-stringed lute, called *kitharis* (Semitic) and *phorminx* (Greek); the word *lura* (lyra) came in with the improved form of the instrument. It was used for preludes and interludes, and perhaps also for occasional emphasis. Here Odysseus has time in the interludes ('whenever the minstrel paused in his chaunt') to pour a libation in thanksgiving for his safety. 74. *Oime*, lit. impetus, motive. Cf. xxii. 347. The story (Arist. 'Rhet.' ii. 24, 6) belonged to the opening of the Trojan war, like the wounding of Philoktetes. 80. The ancient and sacred name of Delphi. Cf. 'Il.' ix. 404, where the allusion to the great wealth of the temple implies that the oracle was then flourishing. 85. 'Drew down his cloak (*pharos*) over his head'; a linen wrap, distinct from the old woollen cloak (*chlaina*). The word is derived by Studniczka (*op. cit.* p. 89) from the Egyptian: it may have suggested the Greek name of the island (iv. 355). Hence it was used to cover the dead (Patroklos, Hektor). Cf. Hesiod, 'Works,' 198. 124. The victor wins by a 'mule-furrow': the length of the area which is

boxing, and Odysseus upon a challenge (163) essayed with the diskos and vanquished them all. Next the king summoned the best dancers and the minstrel; the masters of the lists (258) made ready, and striplings stood up and paced the goodly floor.

viii. 266-369 (III.?). Now Demodokos sang of the stealthy love of Ares and Aphrodite; how Hephaistos, her spouse, forged a net about them and discovered their shame before the gods.

ploughed in one day with a pair of mules. Cf. 'Il.' x. 351. The diskos is a flat circular stone (a mass of iron, 'Il.' xxiii. 826), hurled with a leathern thong. Athene intervenes again as marker of the throws. The series of contests is almost the same as the historic pentathlon. 163. He is taunted with being 'some master of a trading crew, who sails the sea in charge of his freight (his own investment) or his home-cargo'; the Greek navigation, as well as the Phoenician (xv. 415 ff.), had reached the stage of periodical voyages and organized trading, and special terms have appeared for 'trade' (*prêxis* = 'business'), 'freight,' 'return-cargo,' and for the master as supercargo (*mnêmon*). The word for 'goods' (for use and exchange) as distinct from 'possessions,' is not found in the 'Iliad.'

274 ff. This Lay has every appearance of being an ex-crescence, as it rudely interrupts the description of the dancing, and Odysseus does not allude to it, though he compliments Demodokos on the previous song concerning the 'dole (*oitos*) of the Achaians (489). It resembles the Homeric Hymns (cf. 334 ff. with the Hymn to Hermes) in tone, but is far superior in diction. Its light and brilliant style is excellent of its kind. The marriage of Hephaistos with Aphrodite, which is here assumed, may possibly be a Lemnian tradition (if Kabeiro is only a local designation of this goddess, see Roscher's Lexicon, 'Hephaistos,' § 4). Apollonios ('Arg.' 3, 36) has the same tradition, probably from Lemnos. The Lemnian Thoas, of Argonautic fame, is familiar to the 'Iliad' (xiv. 230), and there

viii. 370-416 (II.). And two dancers, the chief of all, displayed their skill with the ball, leaping to catch it (372) and tossing it from hand to hand.

viii. 417-xi. 52 (I.). Ere sunset the lords brought gifts, and the king gave a golden chalice; Odysseus bestowed them in a chest and made it fast with a knot, which Kirke had taught him. As he went to the banquet, Nausikaa stood in the doorway and bade him farewell:

'God speed thee, sir, unto thy land, and there
Think of me sometimes, for thou wert my prize.'

Odysseus answered:

'Nausicaa, child of proud Alcinous,
May the great god of thunder, Hera's spouse,

(i. 594) as well as here (301) the cult of Hephaistos in that island furnishes a motive: the 'Sintians, men of savage speech'—*i. e.* the native (Pelasgian) workmen—are his 'votaries.' But in the 'Iliad' (xviii. 382) he is married to 'Charis,' in the 'Theogony' (945) to Aglaïe, 'the youngest of the Charites,' three in number. (The poet of 'Il.' xiv. 275, not acquainted with the Boiotian cult, speaks vaguely of 'one of the younger Charites.') In making Ares and Aphrodite lovers, the author of the Lay either recklessly parodies the local Theban tradition of their marriage (see 'Theog.' 934), or he is ignorant of it, and dominated by the Cyprian tradition (that of Paphos, l. 363; an allusion to her temple there, the Phoenician plan of which was perpetuated: see 'J. H. S.,' IX.). The name 'Kythereia' (only here, l. 288) alludes to the same cult in Kythera (ix. 81). The fettering is a fancy suggested by the office of the 'strong-armed' god of the smithy. In the 'Iliad' he takes his mother Here's part against Zeus, his father. In the 'Theogony' (927) he is dissociated from Zeus and regarded rather as a prodigy, like the Teutonic fire-demons. The name Hephaistos is connected by

Grant me to see the day of my returning,
 And reach my home, that I may pay my vows
 To thee as to a goddess all my days ;
 For thou, fair maid, didst give me back my life.'

Now he praised Demodokos' song of the Achaians' dole (489), and besought him to tell (500) of the wooden horse, that Epeios made by the aid of Athene, and of the sack of Ilios ; and as he listened, he wept pitifully. Alkinoös marked it and bade the minstrel cease. Then he enquired of Odysseus, what was his name and to what land he would return ; for the Phaiakian ships found their own way to every shore unscathed : [howbeit it was foretold that Poseidon would smite one of them for jealousy, 564-71 (IV.)]. And he desired to hear his adventures. (ix.) Then Odysseus declared his name. 'I am of Ithake,' he

Pictet with the house-fire (*sablê + sthâ*, 'stationed in the family'), but it is probably of Greek origin : compare *phaïos*, whence 'Phaiakes.'

500. 'Taking up the tale where it tells how, etc.,' as one well known. Cf. i. 11. It has been suggested that the 'wooden horse' originated in metaphor, and was derived from some earlier tale of Odysseus in which his ship was so described—'the Argo on dry land' (Cox).

ix. 1 ff. Same (Samos) = Cephalonia, Zakynthos = Zante. The localization of Doulichion is disputed, but the collocation here, and the extent implied by xvi. 247, point to Leukadia (Santa Maura), though this was actually a peninsula till severed by a canal, which the Corinthians made in the seventh century (cf. xxiv. 377). This peninsula may possibly have been called Doliche or Dolichia ('long'), and its headland Dolichion (akron), and the latter name extended by accident to the territory as a whole (in the 'false' form Doulichion). In the

said, 'an island that lies westward (25) of Doulichion and Same and Zakynthos: it is the land I love. [Kalypso and Kirke could not keep me from it, 29-36 (IV.)]. From Ilios we sailed by Ismaros, and there plundered the Kikones (40); but they slew my comrades, six from each ship. The north wind drave us past Kythera ere we had doubled Maleia (81). After nine days we came to the land of the Lotus-eaters (84), and then to the Kyklopes (106), a lawless folk who

Catalogue ('Il.' ii. 627 f.) it is grouped with the Echinades, which are misplaced ('over against Elis'): these islands were, in fact, uninhabited. There is an error (25) in the position assigned to Ithaka, 'furthest in the sea toward the gloom' (*zophos*, the western horizon). The poet of iv. 671 supposes a strait between Ithaka and Same (which is true) with an islet Asteris (imaginary). 40. On the coast of Thrake: they had been allies of the Trojans ('Il.' ii. 846). The name is Semitic ('jawbone'), given by the Phoenicians, who had their marts on the neighbouring Kythera (Cerigo) and Kranae (Herod. i. 1), and left their cult of Ashtoreth (Aphrodite) in the former (cf. viii. 288). This headland of Laconia (St. Angelo) serves as a mark for Agamemnon to steer by on his way home to Argolis (iv. 514). 85. The African lotus shrub (*Rhamnus lotus*, Linn.); Herodotos (ii. 96; iv. 177) describes it in connection with North Africa (Cyrenaica), cf. Strabo, i. 2, 17. It is still used as food (jujuba) in the interior as well as on the northern coast. Its effect as here described is like that of the bread-fruit on Captain Cook's sailors in Tahiti. The Homeric 'lotus-eaters' are not localized, but the north wind must have carried Odysseus to Libya. 106. The Kyklopes appear to dwell at no great distance on the same mountainous coast. The abundance of goats is characteristic of Libya (Herod. iv. 189): they run wild in the island, as the Kyklopes cannot reach it for want of ships. Being uncivilized, these herdsmen have no *agorai* (folknotes), no *themistes* (sanctions, unwritten law); they dwell apart, each 'uttering the

neither sow nor till, nor sail in vermil-prowed (125) ships, but the land yields them wheat and barley and vines in plenty. We landed on an island full of wild goats, and at dawn I made the farther shore with my crew. There dwelt a giant shepherd in a cave roofed over with laurels (183); a yard was built about it with a fence of stones and trees (186). I took with me a skin of wine (198), the ransom of Maron the priest which I had brought from Ismaros. We waited in the cave till he entered and closed the entrance with a great stone and milked (247) his flock. Presently he espied us. I besought mercy, but he recked not of the gods nor of the stranger. He devoured two of us, like a mountain lion (292), and did the like on two ensuing

law' to his own family; they have no worship, but boast themselves 'better than the gods'; they acknowledge no due of stranger or suppliant.—In this version of the story the interest of the victory of cunning over brute force is not spoiled by magic, as in similar Oriental tales, nor by gross stupidity in the ogre, as in Northern versions: the giants, as Sir George Cox remarks, become more stupid as we go farther north (cf. his 'Aryan Mythology,' vol. ii. end). The hero's trick of naming himself 'Noman' reappears in an Esthonian tale (M. R. app. II.). 125. The sides ('cheeks') of the prow were painted with vermillion (*milto* = cinnabar) or crimson (*phoinix*), or ornamented with smalt. 183. The bay-tree (only here in Homer), perhaps not long acclimatized. 186. Oaks and maritime pines, which abound in Greece. The wall is built of huge stones, the tree-trunks forming part of it. 198. The Thrakian wine was in great repute; it was strong, taking twenty 'measures' of water. As a priest, Maron is spared in the sack of the city, with his family, according to the Greek custom (Plut. 'Alkib.' 29). 247. The milk was curdled with fig-tree juice ('Il.' v. 902 f.). The Kyklops presses the curds into cheese with his hands. 292. The lion is common in

nights. Then I pondered how I might avenge my fellows and Athene might grant me renown (317). When he had supped, I gave him thrice of the wine in an ivy (?) bowl. Afterward, as he lay drowsed, we bored his eye with a red-hot brand of olive-wood (320), like wrights drilling a ship's beam (384); the eye-ball hissed as iron dipped in cold water when the smith is tempering an axe or an adze (391). He lifted away the stone and sat in the doorway. But I contrived an escape. I lashed the rams together by threes, and we clung beneath, when Polyphemos drave them forth at dawn unaware. Thus I heard him speak (447) to the ram, the goodliest of all, who carried me :

“Why art thou faring hindmost from the cave?
 Erewhile thou wast no laggard, darling ram,
 But fain to stride ahead of all the flock
 O'er the fat flowery pasture, first to reach
 The running waters, first within the fold
 At even. Wherefore art thou very last?
 Surely thou sorrowest for the eye that was
 Thy master's, whom yon losel fooled with wine—
 He and his rascal crew—and reft my sight :
 Noman ! Beshrew him, he shall perish yet !
 I would thou hadst a voice and kindly wit,

Homeric similes. See Herod. vii. 124 f. for evidence of its presence in Northern Greece. 317. There is no sign, however, of Athene's intervention ; cf. 381, 'some god emboldened us.' 320. The hard olive was used, *e.g.* for axe-handles. 384. The drill being worked by a strap pulled backwards and forwards by two men, while a third holds it steady from above. 391. The process is mentioned only in this simile ; hence it was probably a novelty (cf. Hesiod, 'Works,' 152). 447 ff. This speech touchingly exhibits the one remnant of kindness in the ogre, viz.

To tell me of mine enemy, where he skulks !
 How would I break and brain him to and fro
 About the cavern-floor, and ease my heart
 Awhile of Noman's cruel naughtiness !"

As we embarked, I spake aloud and taunted him. He hurled a rock that fell in front of the ship. Again I shouted, as we rowed away, and avowed my name. Then he remembered a prophecy of one Telemos, who had been a soothsayer among them. "Come hither, Odysseus," he said, "that I may set good cheer before thee." [And he prayed to Poseidon, his father, to heal him and to avenge him on me, 518-36 (II.)]. Therewith he hurled a yet greater stone, but it fell short. So we reached the island and feasted on the sheep. I sacrificed the ram to Zeus, but he heeded not. [(x. 1-540) We came unto a floating isle, where Aiolos (2), son of Hippotas, and his children dwell within a wall of bronze : Zeus had made him keeper of the winds. He gave me a wallet wherein they were tied, save Zephyros : this wafted us toward Ithake. But while I slept, my sailors talked together (38),

towards his flock. 518. This interrupts the context : the good cheer (517) offered by the Kyklops is the rock which he hurls (537). Odysseus is not aware what god he has offended, *e.g.* l. 553. The same applies to l. 412 : 'Nay, pray thou to thy father Poseidon,' spoken in Odysseus' hearing.

x. 2. Unknown elsewhere, but possibly = Astr-aiolos (cf. 'Theog.' 378). 'Il.' xxiii. 200, the winds are gathered in the 'house of Zephyros' (the west, *zophos*). The 'floating' island with its smooth, sheer cliffs may have been first suggested by some story of icebergs. The palace is a kind of 'devil's kitchen,' where the sons and daughters live together and feast continually. 38. Odysseus recites their conversation ; yet he was asleep !

suspecting that I carried treasure, and untied the silver cord. So the winds broke loose and we were borne back, but Aiolos drave me away as one accursed. Soon we reached Telepylos (80), the city of Lamos; there the giant Laistrygones shattered our ships, and slew all but my own crew. We sailed onward to the isle of Aia (135), where Kirke dwells. I sent on

This mechanical composition may indicate that the poet has refurbished an earlier version, in which the adventures were subsidiary and roughly sketched in the third person. Cf. ll. 125 and 277 below, and xii. 390. 80. 'City of big gates': it has an 'agora,' though the king and people are savage cannibals (Lamos = 'swallower,' Laistrygon = 'devourer'). Artakie (108) is a foreign name indigenous to Mysia. It was adopted by the Milesians for a colony near Cyzicus (Herod. iv. 14), and it figured (again as a fountain) in the Argonautic legend (Apoll. 'Arg.' i. 995-7; cf. *ib.* i. 1047). The country lies in a region where the sun has no sooner set than the day begins anew ('where the outgoings of the day and night are very near together; one herdsman coming in greets another going out; a sleepless man might earn double wages, first herding kine and then sheep,' *i. e.* working two shifts, night and day). This was evidently borrowed from some story of Northern latitudes, which had travelled to Asiatic Greece (by the overland trade-route, *viâ* the Dnieper?) during or before the spread of Ionian colonization towards the northern shore of the Euxine. 125. Odysseus describes how three landed, met the king's daughter, etc., and what passed in the king's house; yet none of them returned to tell the tale! 135. As Odysseus had actually sighted Ithaka before the misadventure with the winds, and reached Laistrygonia in six days (81), it follows that Aia is in the West. But it was also the early name of Kolchis, the home of Medeia. A fanciful genealogy connected the two sorceresses: it is found here and 'Theog.' 957. As daughters of Helios, they may be survivals of a moon-goddess (hence perhaps Kirke means

Eurylochos with part of my company. He returned alone, for she had bewitched the rest with her drugs and changed them into swine (240). I set forth with my sword and bow. On my way, Hermes (277) met me in the likeness of a young man; he gave me a herb of grace, which the gods call moly (305), black at the root, but the flower milk-white. I drank of Kirke's charmed cup, and was not bewitched nor hurt in her bed, and she restored my men. I went and brought the rest to her house, and we abode with her a year. She bade me fare to Hades, with the north wind (507), and take counsel of Teiresias concerning my return (I.*).] [Ere we sailed, Elpenor, the youngest of us, fell from the house-roof and brake his neck (II.).] (xi.) After a day and a night we landed by the Ocean in the land of the Kimmerioi (14). I poured

'orb,' cf. *circus*, not 'hawk'). Aietes = 'he of Aia' ('the land' = the island on the Ocean?). De Cara ('Civiltà Cattolica,' vii., 1, July 1893) explains the designation of Aia as an island from a Turanian equivalent; he holds that the Skythai of Kolchis were the Hittites under an altered name (Skuthai = Kutai = Cheth). 240. They retain their human understanding. So in the vase-paintings their hands are uplifted as if in dumb protest against their degradation (see Miss J. E. Harrison, 'Myths of the Odyssey'). 277. Odysseus could not know that the 'young man' was Hermes (but see above, l. 38). 305. Probably garlic (*allium nigrum* or *victorine*?): a plant of this kind was used in Arkadia as an antidote and a charm (Theophrast. 'Hist. Plant.' ix. 15). It is supposed to be 'hard for mortal men to dig,' like any other magic herb, e. g. the mandrake, which shrieks when torn up. 540. The instructions of Kirke xii. 39 ff. probably followed here.

xi. 14. The Kimmerians of history (= Gomer, Gen. x. 2, Ezek. xxxviii. 6) were a people who had been driven from the

an offering to the dead, as Kirke bade me, mead and wine and water, and filled a trench with the blood of sheep. The spirits flocked out of Erebos, but I suffered none to drink.

xi. 51-83 (II.). 'First came the soul of unburied Elpenor; he besought me—for he knew that I would return by Aia (69)—to burn him there with his armour (74), and make a barrow on the shore and set his oar thereon (77).

regions west of the Euxine (before the date of 'Il.' xiv. 4-6), by the Thrakians and 'Hippemolgoi,' and by the Scythians from their territories on the sea of Azov; after which they invaded Asia Minor (see p. 232, n. 2). Cf. H. D'Arbois de Jubainville, 'Les premiers habitants de l'Europe, p. 251 ff. If the name here is the historical one, it may be due to the same confusion of the 'Aia' of Kirke with the 'Aia' of the Argonautic story (Kolchis), which is suspected xii. 4. They are, however, very vaguely described as a people enshrouded in darkness, and behind, or beyond, the sunrise. Hades is on the shore of Ocean (not beneath the earth); at the entrance is a grove of poplars (the black poplar sacred to Persephone) and willows, which 'shed their fruit' (the sterility of the willow made it an emblem of the grave, like the elm, 'Il.' vi. 420: the funereal tree in historic Greece was the cypress, Pausan. ii. 2; viii. 24). The rivers of 'wailing' (*Kokytos*) and 'flaming fire' (*Puriphlegethon*, suggested by lava) meet at a rock and fall on either side into Acheron—a picture probably borrowed from the Arkadian scenery. These streams are branches of the Styx, which is thus connected, as in 'Theog.' 789, with the great river Okeanos (cf. Sanscr. *ôgha*, 'stream'), encircling the earth.

69. This indicates a revision. 74. A misconception, which occurs also in the dubious passage 'Il.' vi. 418. Such a custom is ascribed to the Germans (Tacitus, 'Germ.' 27). In the Homeric funeral the garments were burned ('Il.' xxii. 512). 77. For this custom compare *e.g.* Sappho, fr. 120.

xi. 84-225 (I.). 'Anon came my mother Antikleia (85) and Teiresias. He warned me that Poseidon was wroth, because I had blinded his son, and foretold that, if my comrades did hurt to the cattle of Helios on the isle Thrinakie, they would perish and I would find trouble in my house, even the wooers who were (116) devouring my substance: them I should slay, and afterward travel afar and sacrifice to the god in a strange land [and my death would come in old age from out the sea, 133-7 (IV.)]. Then my mother drank of the blood and knew me (153); she told of my wife and my father and Telemachos my son (184), and how she herself died of grief for my sake.

85. Daughter of Autolykos the thief (xix. 403; and 'Il.' x. 267). 116. The present tense is used, though only three years have passed since Odysseus sailed from Troia, and the wooing did not begin till about the seventh year (ii. 89 ff.; xix. 151 ff.). This may be due to mechanical repetition (see note on x. 38), the seven years' sojourn with Kalypso being overlooked. Wilamowitz infers that it is from a poem with quite a different plot, in which Odysseus had to travel through Thesprotia (cf. xix. 271) *before* his return home. The motive of the prophecy is that Odysseus must appease the sea-god by doing him homage in a land where the people are strangers to the sea (do not eat sea-salt, and mistake an oar for a winnowing-fan). 133. An allusion to an incident of the 'Telegonia' (borrowed from an earlier epic, 'Thesprotis'), where Odysseus was slain accidentally by Telegonos (his son by Kalypso, 'Theog.' 1014) with a spear tipped with fish-bone. This piece was probably added by the editor as a link of connection with some such epic. It recurs xxiii. 281-4.

153. The blood serves as food to the ghosts, and as a pleasant offering to the half-divine Teiresias; his tomb near Thebes was an oracle. Herbert Spencer, 'Sociology,' § 141, traces the idea

xi. 225-327 (IV.). 'There came wives and daughters of heroes and discoursed of their lineage: Tyro, the wife of Kretheus, son of Aiolos (237); Antiope, whose sons (263) built the walls of Thebai; Alkmene, who bare Herakles to Zeus, and Megara his wife; Epikaste (271) and Chloris, the wife of Neleus, daughter of Amphion, son of Iasos, who erst ruled in Minyeian Orchomenos (284), and Pero their daughter (287);

to the cannibal's delight in human blood, like the cognate belief in vampires or cannibal spirits. 184. We need not find a discrepancy here, but rather true poetic 'irony.' The mother describes Telemachos out of her fond imagination as a young man 'dwelling at peace on his demesne, feasting at equal banquets (the epithet is merely traditional; compare its application to the shield, 'Il.' vi. 219), the meed of a prince who dispenses justice, for all men make him welcome.' The poet supposes her to have died before the wooers' molestation began, and allows for the full interval of ten years.

225 ff. This procession of heroines implies the growth of the aristocratic hero-worship in its domestic and civic form, like the corresponding Hesiodic poem ('Eoiai,' see ch. vi., p. 253). 237. Son of 'Hellen,' eponym of the 'Aeolians': he was not invented till the formal division of the Hellenes into Aeolians, Dorians, and Ionians. 263. Her sons, Amphion and Zethos, were the Theban counterparts of the Spartan twins, one of each pair being a mortal man (Kastor, Zethos), the other a demigod (Polydeukes, Amphion). Here the latter pair are said (303) to live and die on alternate days, whereas 'Il.' iii. 243 both are mortal and dead. 271. Epicaste=Iokaste. The Athenian version exiled Oidipous from Thebes in the interest of Athens; here he reigns in his own city till his death (the same is implied 'Il.' xxiii. 679), and there are no children of the marriage. This is the local version (contained, *e.g.*, in the epic 'Oidipodeia'), which gave the king a second wife. The Erinyes of the mother brought the curse, which resulted in the war of Polyneikes against his brother ('Il.' iv. 378; Hesiod, 'Works,' 162). 287.

Lede, the spouse of Tyndareus (298), whose sons, Kastor and Polydeukes, have their life in turn day by day (303); Iphimedeia, whose giant sons Zeus smote (308); Phaidra and Prokris and Ariadne (321), daughter of wizard Minos, whom Theseus would have haled to Athenai, but Artemis slew her in Dia by the witness of Dionysos (325); and Maira and Klymene and Eriphyle' (326).

xi. 328-84 (II.). Now Alkinoös besought Odysseus to bide till the morrow, and he continued his tale.

xi. 385-564 (II.). 'Agamemnon came and told me of his death and the sin of his wife, who slew him [and Kassandra (422) by his side]. And I found Achilles repining :

Her story (a legend of Pylos) is told again (xv. 225-40). 298. Originally the local god, whose cult was displaced by the Olympian Zeus; the divinity of his sons is obliterated in the 'Iliad' (*supr.* 263), but the local tradition emerges where Helene is called the 'daughter of Zeus' (iv. 227, 'Il.' iii. 426). 308. Otos and Ephialtes (cf. 'Il.' v. 385 ff.). But here they are giants, who 'strove to pile Ossa on Olympos, and Pelion on Ossa'—a reminiscence of some myth like those of which we have fragments in the 'Theogony' (676). 321. A bare allusion to Attic legends: Phaidra was wife of Theseus, Prokris daughter of Eretheus. But with respect to Ariadne a local Naxian legend is followed: her death in Dia (Naxos) implies that she was worshipped there as an earth-goddess, the bride of the wine-god (cf. 'Theog.' 947). 326. These belong to the Theban cycle.

422. See on iii. 308. The vengeance of Orestes on his mother must have been part of the legend from the first (though the allusion to it iii. 309 ff. may be spurious), and it implies her aid in the murder of Agamemnon. But her murder of Kassandra appears to be a later addition. The outrage of the Lokrian Aias on Kassandra in the temple of Athens was the cause of the god-

"Nay, proud Ulysses, tell me not of death !
 I had rather be the hireling of a churl,
 Some needy wight and landless, on the earth,
 Than lord it over all the ghastly dead."

I comforted him with tidings of Neoptolemos, his son, how the Mysian Eurypylos, the fairest warrior after Memnon, fell by his hand with many of the Keteioi (521), and how he was brave in the ambushade of the horse. Aias, son of Telamon, was there, but he answered me not, for he had died because of the armour that I won [by the award of the sons of the Trojans and Athene (547)].

xi. 565-640 (II., IV.). 'I saw Minos sitting in judg-

dess' wrath (iii. 135 ; iv. 502), but there is no allusion to her as Agamemnon's captive except in these obscure lines. There are other indications of interpolation noted by the ancient critics. 521. Mr. Gladstone, 'Homeric Synchronism,' pt. ii. ch. I, conjectures that Memnon, son of Eos (Dawn), and his Aithiopes were the Hittites of the valley of the Orontes, and the Keteioi a northern offshoot of the same people. He supposes that Eurypylos took the command when Memnon was slain by Achilles. Their name appears as 'Kheta' in the Egyptian and 'Khatti' in the Assyrian records ('Heth,' Gen. x. 15). They headed a league against the Egyptian Rameses II. (the oppressor of the Hebrews), which included Dardans of the Troad and Mysians (Masu) from Ilion (Iluna, or Mauna = Maionia) and Pedasos. (See Brugsch, App. to Schliemann's 'Ilios.') Hence it is possible that their name may have left a trace in Mysia : Strabo notices a small river there called Keteios. 547. By mistake for the 'daughters of the Trojans,' whose talk, overheard by spies, was allowed to decide the issue ; such was the tale in the 'Little Iliad,' which is ignorantly copied in this interpolation : cf. schol. Aristoph. 'Eq.' 1065.

565-600. This episode has no connection with the previous scene, where Odysseus sits by the trench and the shades come to

ment and Orion hunting in the mead of asphodel (573), and the punishment of Tityos and Tantalos and Sisypchos. I spake with Herakles [his phantom, for he himself is with the gods and hath Hebe to wife, 602-4]. But then the ghosts crowded about me, and I dreaded lest Persephone should send me a Gorgon head. So I returned to the ship, and we sailed down the Ocean.

xii. 1-38 (II.). 'When we reached Aia in the eastern sea (4), we burned the body of Elpenor and

him. It has been doubtfully ascribed to the Orphic Onomakritos (compare Schol. on 604), as the doctrine of the Orphic and other mysteries postulated punishments as well as grades of happiness in Hades. But cf. 'II.' iii. 278 f. Wilamowitz supposes that Tityos was an Orphic example of lust, Tantalos of never-satisfied desire, Sisypchos of restless, hesitating endeavour. 573. A kind of squill, which was planted on graves as food for the dead; the custom still survives in some of the Greek islands ('Works,' 41). The design on Herakles' baldric (in *repousse*)—a hunt of lions, etc.—is familiar in Mycenaean metal-work (cf. Schuchhardt, figs. 227, 233). He is mortal, cf. 'II.' xviii. 117. The interpolation (602-4) implies his apotheosis, which was recorded in an epic entitled 'The Capture of Oichalia.'

xii. 1-38. 4. The contradiction (for the Aia of x. 135 is in the West) appears to be due to a perversion of the Argonautic legend. This is the more probable because the Argo is evidently in the poet's mind (69-72). Mr. Gladstone supposes that he identified the extreme West and East (cf. M. R., *ad loc.*); but against this is the description of the eastern and western Aithiopes as 'sundered in twain' (i. 23). Kirke's injunctions must have been given to Odysseus, in the original version, before he left her (x. 540). The reviser brought him back to Aia for the purpose of burying Elpenor (hence he is obliged to make Elpenor 'know' that he would return, xi. 69). Consequently her discourse is brought in here, strangely late and out of place.

reared a barrow there. Kirke came down to the shore and took me aside and gave me her counsels:

xii. 39—xiii. 124 (I *, II.). 'How I was to escape the Seirenes, and go by the wandering (61) rocks [which no ship ever passed save the oft-sung Argo (69-72)], or by the cave of Skylla, and land on the isle Thrinakie, where were the cattle of Helios [seven herds of kine and seven flocks of sheep, fifty in each flock (130), with their shepherds, the nymphs, whom Neaira bare to Helios Hyperion, 129-136]. She sent a fair breeze, but we were becalmed by the isle of the Seirenes, and I heard them singing:

61. The name indicates that the story, in its first form, was suggested by the phenomenon of islands suddenly emerging and subsiding, but the description applies to volcanic rocks or islets ('breakers and blasts of ruinous fire,' 68). The reviser is thinking of the 'Clashing' rocks (Symplegades), between which the Argo sailed. A strange allusion to the 'doves' (62-5) appears to be borrowed from a legend of the stars so named (Pleiades). As there are seven in number, but only six are usually visible at one time, it was said that Zeus (the sky-lord) 'takes away' the seventh: here the rock takes it away and the Father 'sends in another to make up the tale.' The doves convey ambrosia to the gods as the 'Pleiades' usher in harvest-time on earth (cf. 'Works,' 303). 130. This curious comment may have a similar astronomical motive, the number of the cattle (70×5) representing the days of the solar year. Lauth ('Homer und Aegypten') conjectures that the idea was borrowed from the Egyptian taboo on cows (the Libyans likewise abstained from cow's flesh, Herod. iv. 186), and the name Thrinakie (127) from an isle of the Sun-god (Ra) in the Egyptian Book of the Dead (T-hri-náchiu). Wilamowitz infers that 'the 'isle' was originally the Peloponnese ('trident' land, in allusion to its three headlands); cf. Hymn to Apoll. Pyth. 411-3, where the sacred sheep of Helios are pastured on Tainaron (C. Matapan). 167. The baleful 'singers'

"Hither, O hero and hope of Achaea, renowned Ulysses !
Steer thy galley ashore and come and give ear to our voices ;
For our song is sweeter than honey, and never a mariner passeth,
Sailing along in his dark-hulled ship, but awhile he will listen,
Listen and take his delight ; and he goeth the wiser for hearing.
Of broad Troy-land we know, and the travail of Greeks and
Trojans,

All that was sent you by heaven, we know it ; and all that shall
happen

Here or there on the bountiful earth, we know and we tell it."

But we rowed by in safety (179). We saw a smoke, and the sea was roughened as we neared the strait between Skylla and Charybdis. She devoured six of my company, dashing them like fish on the rocks (255). Then Eurylochos and the rest would land on the isle of Helios. In the third watch of the night (312), when the stars had southed, Zeus sent a tempest ;

(Sanscr. *sva*, to sound) or muses of the sea : hence they have the gift of knowledge and prophecy, like Proteus. 179. Odysseus causes himself to be lashed to the mast, in the '*histopede*' : this is another name for the 'tabernacle' (ii. 424), or, if the mast was fixed in a cross-bench, for the receptacle which held it below. 255. Skylla (the 'tearer') is a many-headed sea-monster with dangling feet like a cuttle-fish, and teeth like a shark. The description appears to have been awkwardly enlarged (*e.g.* 86-8, where she 'yelps like a puppy' : suggested by a dubious etymology, *sky-lax*=whelp). In the original version Charybdis was swallowing when the ship arrived (222 f., 234-6) ; but this is concealed by an amplified description (235-43). The purposeless arming of Odysseus is another after-thought (224-33, and perhaps 111-26, where a mother is invented for Skylla, viz. Krataiis='power,' cf. xi. 597). He stands with his spear (which he does not use) on the 'decking of the prow' (229), which must therefore have been raised high above the hull like the stern (xiii. 75) : hence the ship is *amphielissa*, 'curved (rolled up) at both ends.' 312. See

Euros and Notos blew incessantly. We had no more bread, and were fain to eat fish (331) and wild fowls. While I slept, they slew and ate the best of the kine, sacrificing thereof to the gods with oak-leaves for barley-corns and water for wine (363). The nymph Lampetie told Helios, and Zeus promised to avenge him. This I heard from Kalypso; she said that she had it from Hermes (390). When the wind fell, we sailed. But Zeus raised a storm: the forestays (413) were snapped, and the pilot was killed with the fall of the mast, and all my comrades perished, for the ship was broken. I lashed the keel and mast together with the backstay, but they were sucked down by Charybdis (430): for I was swept thither by the south wind. There I clung by a fig-tree from sunrise till evening; then the timbers were thrown up and I grasped them. For nine days I drifted thereon, and on the tenth night I came to Ogygie' (448). (xiii.) At daybreak Odysseus departed with gifts, raiment and gold, and tripods and caldrons (13). He laid him down to sleep on the

'Il.' x. 253. So among the Hebrews (Judges vii. 19) and Assyrians ('Records of the Past,' I., p. 160). 331. Fish was evidently not eaten, except by the poor. The fish-hook was of bronze, with a guard of horn (l. 253). 390. Cf. x. 38. 413. The mast was held up by two ropes attached to either side of the bows, and one (backstay) fastened to the stern. 430. 'The gulper': a reminiscence of some great whirlpool. The name was attached only in post-Homeric times to the eddy (Carofalo) in the Strait of Messina. The Homeric Thrinakie was similarly confounded with Trinakria (Sicily), while the Sirens were localized in the bay of Naples. 448. But compare xix. 279 and the proem (i. 1-8) for evidence that in the first version there was no Ogygie. xiii. 13. See Schuchhardt, p. 244 f. Bronze

stern-deck (75), while they loosed the hawser from the pierced stone (77). And he slept, while the rowers urged the ship, as it had been a team of stallions (81) four abreast. As the morning-star rose, they landed on the isle of Ithake in the haven of Phorkys (96). There they left him and fared home.

xiii. 125-87 (II.). Now Poseidon was wroth against his kinsmen (130); with leave of Zeus he smote the ship and turned it to stone, according to an oracle. And the Phaiakes gave no more escort to mortals.

xiii. 188-xiv. 533 (I., III.). Odysseus knew not his own land when he awoke, for Pallas Athene (190) had spread a mist about him. First she came and spake with him in the guise of a herdsman. He feigned that he was an outlaw from Krete, and Sidonians had

tripods have been found in larger numbers (especially in Crete); they must have practically served as a medium of exchange. 77. A rock perforated for the purpose of mooring ships. 81. More valued than inares; the names of famous horses are nearly all masculine. 96. A sea-god, 'Theog.' 237. The harbour is described as land-locked. It does not correspond in this respect with either of the main harbours of the island (Theaki), Vathi and Frikes. The poet describes a cave of the nymphs with 'mixing-bowls and jars of stone and looms whereon they weave raiment of purple stain': the stalactite rock has a reddish tinge.

xiii. 125-87. A manifest after-thought: the 'threats' of Poseidon (127) are mentioned nowhere else. Kirchhoff supposes that the first 'Odyssey' ended here: but the slumber has no motive apart from what follows. Against his theory see C. Reichert, 'Über den zweiten Teil der Odyssee.' 130. See vii. 54-9.

xiii. 188-xiv. 533. 190. Athene was the older name of the goddess, whose cult was localized in Boiotia (at Alalkomenai, 'Il.' iv. 8, and Thebes) as well as at the city which bore her

brought him thither. Then she disclosed herself in a woman's form, and helped him to bestow the treasure. She advised him to bide with Eumaios, his swineherd, till she brought Telemachos from Lakedaimon, and departed ; but first she changed him with her wand to the likeness of an aged beggar-man, wrinkling all his skin and spoiling his auburn hair (431). (xiv.) So he went thither (6), and the swineherd greeted him kindly :

name. Fick regards it as an epithet, 'immortal' (= Vedic *á-dhivāni-t*). According to another view the local name 'Atthis' = Attica is the original : Mr. J. B. Bury derives this from *ath = meth*, 'middle'—'the land between the seas.' Her primitive, if not foreign, origin may account for her isolation in the Homeric Olympus, where she has no mother, but is only the 'child of her mighty sire.' Her strange hieratic titles, 'Tritoborn' (iii. 178) and 'Atrutonè,' must have sprung from forgotten local myths : the former, if not both, may have reference to water (Sanskrit. *tritad-*), but hardly to the celestial source of the gods ('Il.' xiv. 201). Compare 'Amphitrite.' Her physical attributes, however, were lost. The old epic epithets make her a war-goddess ('driver of the spoil,' 'grey-eyed'), and her later name Pallas means spear-'brandisher.' But she is opposed to Ares as the embodiment of sagacity in war and of skill in all handicrafts (except what belonged to Hephaistos), *e. g.* vi. 233, cf. 'Il.' v. 61. The same idea reappears in a quasi-philosophical form in the Hesiodic account of her birth from Metis (Counsel), 'Theog.' 886. In the 'Iliad' she is at the beck of Here ; in this poem, where the Argive goddess has no part, she is the ally of Odysseus (cf. 'Il.' x. 278 f.) against Poseidon. This motive was interesting to the Ionian worshippers of both, and is accordingly exaggerated by the later poet. He has enlarged the scene by a preface to Odysseus' speech (200-8), an irrelevant eulogy of Ithaka (240 f., 243-5, 248 f., see Diintzer), a retrospect (302-43), and an explanation (412-28) which interrupts the

'Stranger, I dare not slight thee, though thou wert
 A meaner visitor. The poor and strangers
 Have Zeus for their protector, every one.
 A little gift it is, yet kindly given.
 Thralls may afford no better, such as we,
 Who must endure to cower before young masters.
 Had not the gods cut off my lord's return,
 He would have loved me and given of his bounty
 A farm (64) and homestead, and a comely wife,
 As many a kindly master will reward
 His servant, who has laboured long for him,
 And God has made his handiwork to prosper,
 As now he prospers this my daily toil.'

When Odysseus had eaten his fill, they talked of
 the absent lord (158). For himself he forged a tale :
 he was the bastard (202) son of Kastor, a Kretan ;
 he had gone to Ilios with Idomeneus, and after the war
 he led a foray in Aigyptos (263) ; his band was routed,
 but the king spared his life ; for seven years he abode
 there, and would have returned rich, but he was

transforming of Odysseus. xiv. 6. The hut and courtyard (with
 a rough stone wall coped with white-thorn) are built on a
 plateau 'in a place of wide prospect' (copied i. 426) ; 300 sows
 are penned in the yard, 360 boars outside. Pork is eaten and
 prized in Scherie likewise (viii. 476) ; cf. x. 283. There is a
 special term for the fatted hog. In the 'Iliad' this meat is
 noticed only in the scene of the Embassy (ix. 208) and xxi. 363
 (a simile). 158 ff. The precise prediction of Odysseus' return
 (158-62 copied from xix. 303-7), and the piece about Telemachos
 and Laertes etc. (meaningless in this place), are editorial patches.
 202. As such he inherits less than the legitimate sons (cf.
 Aristoph. 'Birds,' 1660 ff.). A wealthy man is described here
 as one who possesses many 'lots' : this indicates the first break
 in the system of common tenure (cf. l. 64). 263. This picture
 is clearly founded on fact, like the Egyptian narrative in bk. iv. :

wrecked in a Phoinikian (289) ship, and drifted to the land of the Thesprotians; he learned from Pheidon, the king, that Odysseus had gone that way to Dodona (327), to take counsel of the oak of Zeus; he sailed thence in a ship that was bound for fertile Doulichion (334), but escaped to the shore of Ithake. Then they supped with the other swineherds (401), and sacrificed a fatted boar to Hermes and the nymphs (446) and made merry.

xv. 1-300 (III.). Meanwhile Athene repaired to Lakedaimon and warned Telemachos. So he

e. g. the 'exceeding beautiful' lands, the forced labour of captives (272), the king riding to battle in his chariot (278), his clemency (a marked Egyptian trait). The description must date from a time when the Egyptian trade belonged to the Phoenicians, long before the Greeks had any settlement in the Delta. 289. While the Greek is an amateur pirate (iii. 73, ix. 254; cf. Thukyd. i. v.), the Phoenician is a wholesale slave-dealer and kidnapper. The poet knew well the character of these merchants, who exploited Egypt and Libya and the Aegean, and spent their wealth in the 'fair-lying land of Sidon.' 401. Eumaios is a 'leader of men': he has likewise the epithet *díos* (lit. 'heavenly,' Sanscr. *div*, to shine), which is reserved to lords and ladies (*e. g.* 'Il.' i. 7). His courtesy is characteristic of a king's son as well as of a loyal servant. The devotion, which Odysseus has inspired in him, is expressed in his words (l. 147): 'Nay, I call him *brother* (*etheios* = G. traut), albeit he is far hence.' 446. The water-nymphs (Naiades) are specially worshipped in Ithaka, together with Hermes; a hill called after the latter appears xvi. 471.

xv. 1-300. The story of Telemachos is resumed here from bk. iv. (end). Thirty-seven days have elapsed since his departure (i.), and he has been waiting twenty-nine days at Lakedaimon! The later poet is responsible for the fiction about Penelope (16-26), which the goddess needlessly invents to frighten Telemachos.

departed with rich gifts. When he was setting forth with Peisistratos, Helene saw an omen (172). At Pylos, as he was embarking, there came Theoklymenos, a seer and the son of a seer, who was flying from Argos (224), for that he had slain a kinsman; and they gave him refuge. They sailed by Pheai (297) and Elis and the Pointed (?) isles (299).

xv. 301-492 (I.). Now Odysseus had supped, and

His hand is visible in 'tags,' *e.g.* the awaking of Peisistratos 'with a kick' (45), copied from 'Il.' x. 158, and several other repetitions from the 'Iliad' (iv. 1 from the Catalogue, iii. 280, iv. 113 from 'Il.' xxiv., iii. 382 ff. = 'Il.' x. 292 ff.). The formula 'Hellas and mid Argos' = northern and southern Greece appears here (80) and i. 334, iv. 726, 816. The latter is consistent with the use of Argos = Peloponnese, defined by the epithet 'Achaian' ('Il.' ix. 141) and 'Iasian' (xviii. 246), which it is difficult to connect either with the Ionian name or with the Iasios of 'Theog.' 970. But 'Hellas' elsewhere denotes the region of southern Thessaly where Peleus reigned (with Phthia, 'Il.' ix. 395, xvi. 595, 'Od.' xi. 496): this verges on the later use of the term, which appears in the Catalogue ('Il.' ii. 530) and Hesiod ('Works,' 528, 653). 224. The land (later Argolis), of which Mykenai was the chief and Argos (where Diomedes reigned, 'Il.' ii. 559, xiv. 119) the second city. Polyphoides, the father of the seer, had settled there at Hyperesia (Aigira). The story is a mere abridgment from lays concerning the wooing of Pero and the war of the Seven against Thebes (xi. 287, 326). It is older than the 'Thebais,' one of the earliest of the Cyclic epics; for in the latter Amphiaraos was not simply slain, as here, but engulfed in the earth, which implies that he was then enshrined as a 'hero,' who cured the sick by oracular dreams from the lower world. Theoklymenos is flying from the blood-avenger representing the kin (the Hebrew *göel*). The 'heavy-handed Erinys' appears, but only as prompting the folly of Melampous (234). 297. On the coast of Elis ('Il.' vii. 135). 299. Probably the Echinades ('Urchin' isles), 'Il.' ii. 625.

Eumaios told his own story. His father had been king in Syrie (402). Thither came Phoinikians, greedy merchant-men, with their gauds (416); they stole him with the aid of a woman of Sidon, a land rich in bronze (425), and sold him to Laertes.

xv. 493—xxiii. 372 (I., III.). Telemachos landed by himself and bade his comrades row the ship to the town. While he spake with Theoklymenos, as though he would send him to the house of Eurymachos, a hawk, Apollo's messenger (526), appeared on the right, rending a dove, and the seer hailed the omen. He confided the guest to Peiraios, his friend, and made for the swineherd's abode. (xvi.) Eumaios fondly greeted him

xv. 301-492. 402. Syrie (Syros), one of the Cyclades, is described from the Ionian standpoint as beyond Delos (Ortygie), 'where is the turning-place of the sun,' *i. e.* the furthest point on the western horizon where the sun sets (on the shortest day): the variation in the place of the sunset had been observed. 416. We have a sample of these in the shells (*tridachna squamosa*, which is native to the Red Sea), adorned with elaborate incised designs, which have been found in Rhodes and elsewhere: British Museum, Nimroud Gallery, table-case H. 425. The Phoenicians not only worked the rich copper-mines of Cyprus, but obtained the metal from Armenia and the adjacent regions south-east of the Euxine. Cf. Ezek. xxvii. 13: 'Javan (Yemen in Arabia?), Tubal (Tibareni) and Meshech (Moschi) were thy traffickers; they traded the persons of men and vessels of brass for thy merchandise.' Arybas (426) may be Phoenician = Hasdrubal (Fick, 'Odyssey,' p. 284).

xv. 526. See 'II.' i. 39. Telemachos mentions the wooers merely to test the seer. xvi. The following may be vestiges of an earlier version: 27-9, Eumaios' words 'thou dost not often visit us,' etc., as though the youth had never left home; 70-7, Telemachos speaks of himself as too young to receive a

(15) and went, at his bidding, to Penelope. Athene came, unseen (161) of Telemachos, and changed Odysseus, so that he was swarthy and his cheeks filled out and his beard waxed thick and dark (176). So he made himself known to his son, and they took counsel how they should cope with the wooers, for they were many, two-and-fifty from Doulichion (247), four-and-twenty from Same, and twelve from Ithake. Now Telemachos' men landed and bestowed the gifts; their herald brought the tidings to Penelope, and the swineherd did likewise, as he was bidden. The wooers were troubled and debated whether they might yet waylay Telemachos. But Amphinomos (403) counselled them to wait and seek an oracle

guest, and of his mother as really undecided (inconsistent, especially with bk. i); 295-8, the instruction to leave out armour for two (which is not done) suggests a simpler version of the slaughter. The passage about the suitors (122-9) cannot have been recited with 245 ff., which it anticipates and spoils. The passage 281-94 is a duplicate of xix. 4-13, 295-8. 15. Kissing his head, hands, and *eyes*, as his mother does. 161. The dogs whine and cower before her, though she is invisible: so in Norse legend brutes can recognize gods and spirits (cf. Grimm, 'Mythol.' 12, 632). 176. This cannot be reconciled with xiii. 431 f.; cf. vi. 431, but there the auburn hair is, perhaps, merely an excuse for the simile. The brown skin and black beard are essentially appropriate to the strong, hardy sailor, broad-shouldered and thick-set but not tall ('Il.' iii. 210). 403. A weak, vacillating character: his name from *amphi* = 'on both sides' (cf. xx. 245 f.). He scruples to kill the son of a king, and foolishly hopes to get the sin condoned by an oracle. He serves as a foil to Eurymachos and Antinoös, who are equally wicked at heart, but opposite in behaviour—the former plausible, the latter brutal in word and deed. Their colloquy with Penelope

of Zeus. Eumaios returned, but he knew not Odysseus yet; for Athene had changed him again. So they supped together and went to rest. (xvii.) At dawn Telemachos went to the house, bidding Eumaios follow with the stranger (25). Penelope greeted him, but he bade her first go and vow acceptable hecatombs (50) to the gods, if they would grant retribution; and she obeyed silently (57). He took his seat by Mentor and Antiphos (68) and Halitherses, who were his friends; and Theoklymenos came in with Peiraios, his host. Then he told his mother of his journey, and how Odysseus was kept by Kalypso (143). Toward evening Odysseus set forth. He was rudely encountered at the well of the nymphs by Melanthios (212), son of Dolios. As he drew near

(401-59) is introduced on purpose to bring out these traits, which are not marked in bk. ii. xvii. Obvious additions are found here (204-53, 409-61), and slight mistakes: 160 (the omen was not seen from the ship, xv. 525), 196 (Odysseus had a stick already, xiv. 31). 25. He will wait till he is warmed with the fire and the sun waxes warm, for he dreads the morning frost. The time is late autumn or winter (if the festival of Apollo is held at the winter solstice). Cf. 191, 572, xiv. end. 50. The word is used, in the singular or plural, for any costly meat-offering. 57. 'Her word found no wing,' a formula peculiar to the 'Odyssey.' 68. The editor borrows his name by mistake (ii. 14-19), where 'Antiphos' is supposed to have been eaten by the *Kyklops*! 212. This episode is imperfectly adjusted. The wooers have already killed their meat (180); Melanthios brings the '*best of the goats*' (repeated from xx. 174, where this is in place, as it is then a feast-day, *ib.* 157). His name is invented from Melanthio (his sister, the paramour of Eurylochos, xviii. 321). The same artificial nomenclature appears in 'Ithakos' and 'Neritos,' 207: the latter from the name of a mountain,

the courtyard, his old hound Argos knew him, lying there (297), and died. He sat down within the doorway of the hall on the ashen (339) threshold, against a pillar of cypress wood. When the supper was ended, he went (for so Athene prompted him) and begged of all from right to left (365), and told a story of himself, how he was made prisoner in Aigypptos and sold to Dmetor, son of Iasos, a prince in Kypros (443). The rest gave, but Antinoös reviled him and smote him with a foot-stool; and Penelope heard of it, where she sat with Eurynome, the house-dame. She was fain to speak with the stranger, and sent Eumaïos to call him (522); and just then it befell that Telemachos sneezed (542). But Odysseus excused himself till the evening. (xviii.) Then up came Arnaïos, a lusty beggar-man whom

‘Neriton,’ which appears, in addition to Neïon, only ix. 22, xiii. 351. See Völcker, ‘Hom. Geogr.’ § 38. 297. Argos (‘swift’) lies on a dung-heap ‘before the doors,’ *i. e.* in the unpaved courtyard. Swine are turned loose there, to feed on the refuse (xx. 164). Cattle (those about to be killed) were even tethered under the verandah of the *prodomos* (*ib.* 189). Argos ‘drops both his ears’ with pleasure at the sight of his master—a poetical illustration of the love which Odysseus inspires. Prof. Geddes notices that the dog is as much esteemed in the ‘Odyssey’ as the horse in the ‘Iliad.’ 443. A Phœnician? Cf. xiv. 288. 522. It is significant that Eumaïos’ report is abridged from Odysseus’ *later* tale (bk. xix.). 542. A survival of the idea that an evil spirit was expelled by sneezing; hence the omen is a good one. (xviii.) The scene (158–303) in which Penelope coquettes with the suitors appears to be an inserted episode somewhat like the lay of Ares and Aphrodite (viii. 266–369, cf. *ε. g.* l. 193 with viii. 288). It makes Penelope a mere puppet in the hands of the goddess. The second stool-throwing (394) can hardly have been recited with the first (xvii.

they called Iros (6), because he ran on errands : he challenged the other to fight with fists, and loud was the glee when Odysseus struck him down half-dead. Now Athene stirred Penelope to go with her maidens and show herself to the wooers for her lord's behoof, and purged her face with ambrosial beauty (192), such as that wherewith Kythereia is anointed for the dance of the Charites, and made her larger (195) and whiter than new-sawn ivory. The wooers were enchanted as she stood before them, holding her bright tire before her face. She rebuked Telemachos, and desired that they should woo her duly with gifts, for her lord bade her marry, when her son should have come to manhood. Antinoös offered an embroidered robe fastened with twelve golden brooches (293), and each brought some fair gift, and her maidens took them away. In the evening, when they amused themselves with dancing and song by the light of braziers, Melantho reviled him, but fled at his fierce rebuke. Athene devised yet more mischief; for Eurymachos

462 ff.); the same perhaps applies to the two encounters with Melantho (xviii. 321-48, xix. 65 ff.); Odysseus fiercely threatens her in the first, but only remonstrates in the second. In the former is mentioned the *lesche* (329) with the smithy as a place where a beggar would sleep. Cf. 'Works,' 493.—6. Derived (popularly) from Iris, the gods' messenger. See Fick, 'Personennamen,' p. 424, on nicknames and other derivatives. 192. This nameless unguent is the equivalent of *psimuthion* (white lead, enamel). 195. The robust type of female beauty is the poet's ideal, as it was that of the greater sculptors. 293. The brooch-pin (*peronc*) has a bar with one end recurved to hold the pin's point; or the pin is held by two sockets (xix. 226-7, cf.

insulted him (307) and hurled at him with a footstool (394). So they departed to their houses. (xix.) Now Odysseus and his son removed the weapons, while Eurykleia shut the women within their chambers. Pallas Athene gave them light from a golden cresset; the hall was aglow, walls and fair lantern (37) and beams and pillars. When Telemachos had gone to rest, Penelope sat by the stranger in her chair (56), and heard his story: he averred that he was a man of Krete, a younger brother of Idomeneus (181); he had seen Odysseus there, and remembered the fashion

'Il.' xiv. 180). See Schuchhardt, p. 296. 307. Eurymachos jeeringly compliments him on the divine halo around his head, which is bald and reflects the light as he stands by the brazier. (xix.) The foot-washing scene would be more consistent with a simpler story, in which Odysseus had not been miraculously transformed, but was merely disguised by the wear and tear of travel: it may have originally followed where Penelope sends for her guest (xvii.). Wilamowitz conjectures an original in which Eurykleia's discovery did not escape Penelope (as it is, this has to be explained by Athene suddenly 'turning the mind' of Penelope 'elsewhither,' 479), that the recognition immediately followed, and that the drawing of gifts from the wooers (xviii. 158—303) was then concerted. The long anecdote (394—466) concerning the scar must be a later addition: its allusion to Autolykos the thief (396) has a striking counterpart in 'Il.' x. 267. 37. '*Me-sodmai*,' lit. 'mid-structure,' probably a lantern in the roof, serving to light the hall and to let out the smoke. The word is otherwise interpreted 'rafters' (cf. Quintus Smyrnaeus, xiii. 451, Rhodom.), or 'panels' of the wall (cf. ii. 424). 56. Inlaid with ivory and silver in spirals. 181. The Idomeneus of the 'Iliad' (xiii. 450—3) is utilized here. His grandfather, Minos, king or 'warder' of Crete, is the son of Zeus and Phoinix' daughter (Europe), 'Il.' xiv. 321, a sign of the myth-making which went with the conscious opposition between Greek and

of his dress (226): Odysseus was even then in Thesprotia (271); he had been shipwrecked on his way from the isle Thrinakie and cast ashore on the land of the Phaiakes (279)—so he had heard from Pheidon, king of the Thesprotians; he had gone to Dodona to enquire of the oracle of Zeus, and he would surely return that very month (306). Penelope doubted; yet she would entreat him courteously:

‘Ah no! My heart forebodes he will not come.

Thou wilt have none to speed thee on thy journey;

Phoenician. We have here a notice of diverse races and tongues in Crete—(1) Achaioi, (2) Eteokretes, *i.e.* natives, (3) Kydones (cf. the Cuth of 2 Kings xvii. 24, 30), dwelling on the river Iardanos (iii. 292), Phoenician immigrants, (4) Dorians, with an epithet (*trichaikes*, *tri* + (*v*)*ic*, house or clan) which implies their tripartite constitution, like that of the Dorians in Rhodes ('Il.' ii. 668) and in Sparta, (5) Pelasgoi. The last name is so far diffused that it is attached to Thessaly ('Il.' xvi. 233) and to an Asiatic Larissa near Kyme ('Il.' ii. 840; cf. x. 429; xvii. 288, 301); the latter being likewise the name of fortified heights in Thessaly and of the citadel of Argos. It is not known what other traditions led the Greek historians to extend the term to the pre-Achaian population generally (see especially Herod. ii. 56). It may have survived, as Hehn supposes, in the Albanian *pljak*, 'ancient' or 'honoured': he connects it with *pelos*, 'grey' (cf. Pelops?). These peoples dwell in ninety cities: those named in Homer are Cnosos and Amnisos (its port?), Gortyn and Phaistos, with others in the Catalogue ('Il.' ii. 645-9). 226. A golden brooch-pin adorned with a fawn writhing in the grip of a hound; for a corresponding design, see Schliemann, 'Mycenae,' 264-5. The linen *chiton* is glossy and smooth 'as the skin of a dried onion'; it is hemmed or fringed. 279. This favours the view that, in the original story, Odysseus was carried straight from Thrinakie to the land of the Phaiakes, and thence perhaps to Thesprotia (cf. xii. 448). 306. *Lukabas* from luka(b)=luna

For now are no such masters in our halls
As was Ulysses, ere his day was done.
He was a man to welcome and to speed
The honoured guest. Now come, my serving-maids,
Wash ye his feet and strew the bedstead o'er
With proper rugs and glossy coverlets,
That he may sleep in comfort till the dawn
Shines from her golden throne. Anon at daybreak
Bathe and anoint him 'gainst the morning meal ;
For he shall feast with my Telemachus,
And rest him at his ease within my hall.
Woe to the gallants, whosoe'er shall wreak
Their brutal spite upon him ; they shall fail
And smart withal : they shall not have their way.
How shalt thou know, my guest, that I possess
Sound wit and thrifty more than other women,
If all unkempt and meanly clad thou suppest ?
Our days of life are few upon the earth,
And if a man be harsh and hard of heart,
Men's tongues will curse him while he lives, and all
Reville his name aloud when he is dead.
But whosoe'er in heart and act is gentle,
His fame is carried far and wide by guests
Abroad the world, and many call him good.'

But he refused :

'Nay, lady mine, wife of Laertes' son
Ulysses, your soft coverlets and rugs
Mislike me, since the hour my long-oared galley
Wafted me past the snow-clad hills of Crete.
I will e'en lay me down as I was wont
To lie for many and many a weary night,
Snug in my sorry bed till dawn uprose
On her bright throne. I have no liking now
To lavers for my feet ; I will not have
Your busy handmaids touch me—nay, not one—
Unless there be some faithful ancient dame,
Whose heart is tried with sorrow e'en as mine ;
Her would I not begrudge to handle me.'

Then said Penelope :

'Dear stranger,—yea, none dearer ever fared
To mine abode, nor one so wise as thou—
Exceeding wise and wary is thy speech.
I have a beldame here, right shrewd of heart ;
She was the gentle nurse of my poor spouse,
Into whose hands his mother gave her babe—
A feeble crone, yet shall she wash thy feet.

Up, Euryclea, wise-head ! set about it.
Old is he like thy lord, and now perchance
Ulysses has such hands and feet as those ;
For men decay apace in misery.'

And Eurykleia spake, weeping :

'No help, alas ! my child, no help in me !
Zeus spites thee more than all men. Yet, I ween,
Thine was a righteous spirit. Never man
Gave to the lord of thunder gifts so many,
Burning fat thighs and richest hecatombs,
So that thou mightest live—such was thy prayer—
Unto a bright old age, and rear the while
A noble son. But now the god has reft thee,
Thee only, of thy home for evermore.
Mayhap, the maids of many a splendid hall
In those far lands were used to flout my lord,
Like as these wenches now are flouting thee.
Well dost thou shun their scolding and their gibes,
And wilt have none but me to wash thy feet.
And I will wash them, as my lady bids,
Icarius' daughter, sage Penelope,
Right gladly for her sake—aye, and for thine.
In truth, my heart is troubled for thee : listen,
And heed my words ; for I would have thee know,
Of all our many wayworn visitors
I ne'er have seen one like Ulysses' self
As thou in form and voice and feet art like him.'

Odysseus answered :

‘Aye, so say all who have beheld us both,
E’en as thy wit discovers, dame, that we
Are passing like in fashion each to each.’

So she washed his feet and discovered the scar of a wound that a boar had dealt him long ago, when he visited Autolykos his grandfather, who gave him his name (407). And she whispered :

‘Dear child, in very truth thou art Ulysses !
I knew thee not at all until my hands
Had searched o’er all the body of my lord.’

But he checked her speech :

‘Ah ! good my nurse, why wouldst thou ruin me,
Thou who wast wont to feed me at thy breast,
When, spent with weary toil these twenty years,
I come at last unto my fatherland ?
Some god has told thee, and thou knowest me.
Keep silence, lest it go throughout the house.

(luc-sna), moon. The next line defines the day as the first of the month (‘as one month wanes and the other sets in’). 407. ‘Odysseus’ is here interpreted ‘child of hate’ (cf. *odium*). Other forms of the name (Olytteus, Olixheus, Ulixes) point to a different root (cf. Wilamowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 18). The editor similarly plays on the word (i. 62). He was probably the author of the story of Autolykos and of the passage (518-70) comprising (1) the post-Homeric (?) myth of the daughter of Pandareos (Aëdon) transformed into a nightingale : this has its parallel in the myth of Niobe (probably interpolated), ‘Il.’ xxiv. 602 ff., of whom Aëdon was jealous ; (2) the dream of Penelope, in which an eagle talks to her and explains that he is an omen (!), an abortive copy of xv. 160 ff. ; (3) the fancy about dreams (562), which is founded on popular etymologies : the false come through a gate of ivory (*elephas*, cf. Hebr. *aleph*, confounded with *elephair*-, cheat), the true through a gate of horn (*keras*, confounded with

Else know—and what I say shall come to pass—
 If the god strikes yon lordly wooers down,
 Then this my hand will slay and spare not thee,
 My nurse, with other of my women thralls.'

She answered :

'My child, what words have broken from thy lips !
 Thou knowest I have a strong and stedfast spirit.
 I will be hard as stone and firm as iron.'

Penelope told him that she had ordained for the wooers a trial of the bow, and she must marry him who should win. Then she returned to her chamber. (xx.) He laid him down on a pile of fleeces in the vestibule (1), but his heart growled (13) within him for rage as he heard the wicked handmaids talking together, till Athene came and encouraged him. And Penelope lay awake, longing to die or to be snatched away like the daughters of Pandareus, whom the Harpies (66) gave to the Erinyes to be their handmaids. Odysseus heard her weeping, and prayed Zeus for a sign; and lo! an omen fell from a woman grinding corn in the handmills (120). Now they prepared the hall—for it

krai-, accomplish). (xx.) The myth of the daughters of Pandareos (66)—Merope and Kleodora—is of a piece with the other (xix. 518 ff.): the Harpies are here not merely 'storm-winds,' as i. 241, but personal and definitely located. Cf. 'Il.' xvi. 150, and 'Theogony,' l. 276. The Sikels appear l. 383, as in xxiv. xx. 1. *Prodornos*, the vestibule or covered colonnade (*aithousa*) with chambers at the sides, where guests were accommodated (iv. 296, cf. 'Il.' ix. 472; xxiv. 643, 673). It divided the hall from the courtyard: hence the women pass Odysseus as they come out of the hall, while he can hear them talking in the mill-houses outside (cf. Schliemann, 'Tiryns,' plan ii.). 120.

was a feast-day—and the herdsmen brought in cattle; one was a neatherd, by name Philoitios, who had charge of the flocks in the land of the Kephallenes (210), and he was loyal. The wooers were plotting to kill Telemachos, but an omen checked them. When they were come to the feast, Telemachos seated his father within the hall by the threshold of stone (258). Meanwhile the Achaïans were gathering in Apollo's grove. But even then Ktesippos insulted Odysseus, hurling at him with an ox-foot, and Eury-machos scoffed at the seer, Theoklymenos; for their eyes were blind to the signs. (xxi.) Now Penelope went to the treasury, where bronze and gold and well-wrought iron (10) were stored, and took out the bow which Iphitos erst gave to Odysseus in Lakedaimon, ere he was slain by Herakles (11); and she declared

She chances to curse the wooers as the cause of her toil: such a coincidence was regarded as an unconscious inspiration, and ascribed to Zeus, the giver of all omens by voice (*omphē*; as such he is worshipped, 'Il.' viii. 250). 258. He thereby gets Odysseus into a position, inside the hall, whence he can shoot and likewise intercept the suitors from the door leading out to the *prodomos*. (xxi.) A composite or enlarged description is indicated here by the perfunctory setting of the main incidents (e. g. 99, 350-7). 11. Herakles was privy to the theft of the mares of Iphitos, son of Eurytos, King of Oichalia in Thessaly: he slew him at Tiryns. Except in xi., he is a man (though the son of Zeus), strong, violent, and tyrannical.—The door of the treasury described (8 ff.) opened inwards and was secured by a wooden bolt on the inside. To close it from the outside, it was necessary first to pull it to by means of a handle or hook (of silver, i. 441): the bolt was then drawn into its socket by pulling the loose end of a strap, which was tied to it inside and

before the wooers that she would marry him who should achieve the feat which she ordained. Eumaios and the neatherd wept at the sight, while Telemachos set the twelve iron axes in the earth (120): he would have tried the bow himself, but Odysseus checked him. Then first Leiodes handled it in vain, and others of the wooers. Meanwhile Odysseus went out and discovered himself to Eumaios and Philoitios, showing them the scar. He charged the one to set the bow in his hands, the other to make fast the outer gate of the court (241). When Eurymachos had failed, Antinoös would fain have put off the match (258). But Telemachos desired that the bow be given to the stranger, and he bade his mother depart. Odysseus charged the nurse to bar the doors of the women's chamber. Then he took the bow and strung it easily, as a minstrel stretches a chord of sheep-gut about a new peg (407) of his lyre, and shot an arrow through all the axe-handles (422).

passed through a hole in the door: this done, the strap was knotted round the door-handle. The strap-hole served also as a key-hole. The key (47) is of bronze with an ivory handle; when it is inserted, the end, which is bent and has teeth, catches in the bolt and draws it back from the socket. In the case of folding doors as here, there were two bolts placed as cross-bars (cf. 'Il.' xxiv. 455). See Merry's ed., vol. 2, frontispiece. The treasury is 'far at the back' of the house, behind the women's chambers. 120. In the earthen floor of the *megaron*: in the palace discovered at Tiryns the floor of the hall was paved. 241. This is done (388) with a ship's cable of *byblus* (not mentioned elsewhere in Homer), a plant of the same character as the Egyptian papyrus, which was used for strong ropes (Herod. vii. 25). 407. The strings being twisted round pegs on the 'bar' of the lyre. 422. 'He grazed (lit. 'did not miss') the

Telemachos stood by him armed with sword and spear. (xxii.) Odysseus doffed his rags and sprang on the great threshold (2). Thence he shot Antinoös first. Eurymachos called to the rest to drive him with their swords from the threshold and the doorway, but he fell by the next shaft. Telemachos slew Amphinomos and hastened to fetch weapons. Many more had fallen, but the arrows were spent ; Odysseus

handle-tip of every one of the axes.' This suggests a double-headed axe with crescent blades converging above the handle. So (xix. 572 ff.) the axes in a row are likened to the wooden trestles used in building a ship, with notches in the centre to receive the keel. The trial was one not merely of skill in taking aim, but of strength in propelling the arrow with a sufficient initial velocity to ensure a low trajectory. The bow of Odysseus alone was strong enough to shoot level. (xxii.) Some confusion results here from the enlargement of a simpler version ; thus xvi. 295-8, swords, spears, and shields for two should have been at hand ; as the story stands, Odysseus is left defenceless till Telemachos has brought arms for four. Nor are swords used on his side. O. Seeck, 'Die Quellen der Odyssee' (71-5), infers a mixture of two versions, viz. (a) a bow-slaughter down to l. 98, (b) a fight with spears from l. 126, put together by a compiler (99-125). The perplexing intervention of Athene-Mentor was entailed by the addition of the Telemachy. 2. The thresholds at either end of the hall, leading respectively to the back-chambers and the *prodomos*, are described sometimes as of ash (or oak, xxi. 44), sometimes as of stone (xx. 258), the wooden frame of the door being either exposed or partly overlaid with stone (or bronze, vii. 89, xiii. 4). It is the latter on which Odysseus is still stationed, so that he commands the exit toward the courtyard. In a corner of the same wall is a postern (126), the entrance to a corridor (128), which would have led round to the treasury, but this is perilously (137) near the threshold. The '*rôges*' (143) by which Melanthios gropes his way thither are explained by Eustathius as lanes (Prof. Jebb,

leaned his bow against the side-wall (121) of the entrance and donned his armour. He charged Eumaios to watch a postern (126), which led to the corridor; but Melanthios went up by the lanes (143) to the treasury and fetched twelve shields and spears and helmets for the wooers, and presently went again, but the two herdsmen overtook him and left him there bound beneath the roof. So they stood together armed. Athene entered in the likeness of Mentor, and rallied Odysseus; then she flew up and perched, in the fashion of a swallow, on a beam of the roof. The boldest of the wooers attacked, but the goddess turned their spears aside and they were slain; only Medon the henchman and Phemios (334) escaped. Then Odysseus bade Eurykleia summon the serving-maids; and when the hall was cleansed, Telemachos fastened a rope from a column to the tholos (442), and

'Homer,' p. 184, compares the modern Greek *rouga*, a narrow passage); these may have been made in the thickness of the wall, communicating with the corridor. From the remains of the Mycenaean palace it appears that two walls were made in lieu of a party wall, with a space between sufficient to have served as a passage.

121. 'Bright,' *i. e.* stuccoed: so the 'upper chamber,' where Penelope sleeps (xvi. 445), is called 'glossy.' 334. His first thought was to take refuge at the altar of 'Zeus of the court' or precinct (*herkos*), where Laertes and Odysseus had sacrificed: the sanctity of the enclosure ('garth') was an Aryan tradition, which has survived in India (see Maine, 'Village Communities'), and in the Russian 'isba.' Phemios pleads that he is a 'self-taught' minstrel: 'the gods put in his heart all manner of lays.' This implies that there were others who were merely taught and trained, scholars or apprentices. 442. Mr. Leaf suggests that this was a

they hanged the guilty women in nooses ; and Melanthios they took and disembowelled. ' This done, they lit a fire and purged the house with sulphur. (xxiii.) When Penelope heard, she came to the hall, still doubting. And Odysseus counselled with his son how they might prevent an alarm. When he had been bathed and attired in goodly raiment, and Athene had shed grace upon him, Penelope made trial, if he were indeed Odysseus ; and lo ! he knew the secret of the bedstead, which he had built with his own hands upon the stump of an olive (168). At this sign her heart was melted :

' Ulysses, be not wroth with me ; bethink thee—
 For thou wert alway sage beyond compare—
 Of the long sorrow which the jealous gods
 Have sent to thee and me, denying us

dome-shaped roof over the altar of Zeus Herkeios (see above) in the courtyard. The round shape belonged originally to the Aryan thatched house of wood or wattle ; it was preserved by the Greeks in the vaulted tomb as found at Mycenae and Orchomenos (a reminiscence, perhaps, of the burial or laying-out of the king in his own house), and by the Italians in the old ash-urns (found, *e. g.*, in the necropolis of Alba Longa) and in the round temple of Vesta ; the survival in the latter case is due, according to Mr. J. G. Frazer, to the use of the king's dwelling as the fire-house, which was replaced by the Vesta or hearth of the city. The word is peculiar to the Greek and Latin (*tholos*, cf. *thalamos*, *fala*, see Schrader, p. 345). (xxiii.) The bower-maiden (228) perhaps, in the older version, escorted Odysseus and Penelope to their chamber. The poem may have ended with l. 240. Penelope's speech is defaced by an addition concerning Helen (218-24). 168. He made three bed-posts to match the first, which was the olive-trunk itself, shaped and smoothed ; to these he attached a network of leather straps (crimson) to

To dwell in wedded love, enjoy the sweets
 Of youth and reach the bourn of eld together.
 Nay, then, be not displeased with me, nor fret
 That I beheld thy face and gave no kiss.
 My heart was ever shuddering within me
 For fear some wight should come with cheating tales
 To make his gain; for knavery is rife.
 But now that thou hast manifestly told
 The marvel of thy couch, unseen of all
 Save us and that one maiden, Actoris, (228)
 My father's gift, who journeyed with me hither
 And kept the door of our close bridal bower,
 Oh! now I yield thee my ungentle heart!'
 She ended, and impatiently he wept,
 Embracing her, his sweet true-hearted wife.
 As when the sea-god smites some goodly bark
 Driven by the gale amid the rolling surge,
 And but a remnant swim upon the flood,
 And drag their limbs all thick with briny scurf
 From out the grey sea-foam, and joyfully
 Climb on the beach and 'scape the deadly deep,
 As welcome as the land beyond the waves
 Unto their sight, so welcome was her spouse,
 And her fair arms would scarce release his neck. (240)

Athene (prolonged the night; and Odysseus re-
 counted his story (281). And at dawn he went forth
 with Telemachos.

xxiv. 1-204 (IV.). Now Kyllenian Hermes led the
souls (5) of the wooers forth by the stream of Okeanos

support the bedding. The side-boards, morticed to the posts,
 were inlaid with gold, silver, and ivory. The ornamentation of
 Penelope's chair (xix. 56) is similar. Inlaying with spirals of
 metal is implied 'Il.' iii. 391 (the bedstead of Paris). 281-4.
 Cf. xi. 133.

xxiv. 1-204. 5. Un-Homeric; for they have not been buried

and the rock Leukas (11), by the gates of the sun and the land of dreams (12) to the mead of asphodel. There was Achilles and Agamemnon telling him, how they rescued his body and buried it; the nine Muses (60) sang his dirge, and they laid his ashes in a golden urn, the gift of Dionysos (74). And the ghost of Amphimedon told of the wooers' slaughter.

xxiv. 205-558 (I., III.). Odysseus went up to the farm-land where his father Laertes, son of Arkeisios, dwelt with his thralls in their huts, and an old Sikelian woman (211), the wife of Dolios, tended him. He found him digging in his vineyard, and first told him a false tale, ere he disclosed himself. They sat down to meat with Telemachos in the old man's house, and Athene made him goodly and tall, as when he was prince of the Kephallenes (377) and took Nerikos.

(cf. 'Il.' xxiii. 73). So Elpenor (xi. 53. ff) is found 'in the nether gloom' (57) before his burial. The epithet of Hermes alludes to the Arkadian story of the wooing of Maia by Zeus, in a cave of Mount Kyllene. His office as conductor of the dead emerges only here; but he is the giver of sleep (akin to death) 'Il.' xxiv. 343, 444. Cf. vii. 137. The ghosts follow him gibbering like bats in a cave:—a sound which the primitive sorcerer imitates to make believe that he is in communication with spirits. The swarming of bats and owls in caves used for burial suggested that the dead actually took such forms: and the burial-cave is the primitive counterpart and nucleus of the Greek Hades. 12. Un-Homeric: the Homeric dream is always the wraith (*eidolon*, iv. 796) of some real person, created by a god. 60. Cf. 'Theog.' 75. 74. See 'Il.' vi. 131. 211. The Sikels were immigrants from Italy, who drove the older Iberian natives (Sikanoi) into the interior, west and north (Thukyd. vi. 2); but the name of the latter continued to designate the island

Meanwhile the kinsmen of the wooers removed their dead by land and sea, and they were fain of vengeance. But Laertes slew Eupèithes, father of Antinoös, who led the attack, and Athene stayed the fight and made peace.

(Sikanie, 308). Ancient tradition placed Alybas (304) in Southern Italy. 377. The Kephallenes appear only here, and with the Philoitios of xxii., xxiii., as the people of Same. In the Catalogue ('Il.' ii. 631) they represent the whole island kingdom of Odysseus, Ithake being regarded as a dependency of the larger island. Nerikos was an old stronghold, which remained as the acropolis of Leukas, when the latter was built by the Corinthian colonists. It is still 'on the foreland of the continent,' for the peninsula only became an island (Santa Maura) when the Corinthians dug a canal through it. The name 'Leukas,' however, was probably older than the town. It is strangely borrowed by the editor (II).

The principal manuscript of this poem is the Harleianus, British Mus. 5674, with scholia. The ancient critics, with the exception of Xenon and Hellanikos, ascribed the 'Iliad' and the 'Odyssey' to one poet. Aristarchos treated the 'separation' of the latter as a 'paradox.' He assumed both to be book-epics like the post-Homeric poems known as 'Cyclic.' This term denoted a 'collective,' but abridged, edition of the post-Homeric together with the Homeric poetry relating to Thebes, Argos, Attica, etc., as well as to Troy, designed to group the events in continuous succession. The contents of the Trojan portion are known from an abstract by Proklos (probably the grammarian, who was one of the teachers of M. Antoninus). See Mr. Monro's articles, 'J. H. S.,' IV. V., and references in the Index.

CHAPTER V

HESIOD : THE 'WORKS AND DAYS'

THE poetical literature which passed under the name of Hesiod was of two distinct kinds, (1) technical and didactic, consisting of practical instructions side by side with ethical maxims, proverbs and apologues ; (2) genealogical, viz. compilations of legendary matter concerning the gods or heroes in more or less serial form : this was the poetical counterpart and precursor of the genealogical chronicles, the earliest form of literary prose, from which history was subsequently developed.¹ The epic metre served for both kinds, till the ethical or 'gnomic' poetry was detached and better vehicles (first the elegiac, then the iambic) were adopted for it.

The 'Works and Days,' the only extant poem of the former class, presents to us without doubt Hesiod himself, the first didactic poet of Greece. Of the rest, the 'Theogony' (*i. e.* genealogy of the gods) was

¹ The Hesiodic 'Theogony' was actually paraphrased in prose by the logographer Akusilaos.

certainly of paramount importance. Herodotos¹ ranges Hesiod as its reputed author with Homer, and affirms that 'it was they who made the Greek theogony, gave the gods their titles, assigned their respective dignities and functions, and specified their forms.' Its companion was the 'Catalogue of Women' (*i. e.* heroines). Of the later productions we possess only the 'Shield of Herakles.'² Two others, 'Aigimios' and the 'Wedding-feast of Keÿx,' were designed, like the 'Shield,' to magnify the Dorian nobility in the person of Herakles. The 'Melampodia' contained the story of Melampous, the seer of Pylos ('Od.' xv. 234). The 'Instructions of Cheiron' was a book of counsels placed in the mouth of the teacher of Achilles (cf. 'Theog.' 1002).

Of all this literature³ nothing but the 'Works and Days,' and only portions of this, can be assigned with

¹ ii. 53. He reckons the two poets as of equal antiquity, see ch. ii. p. 39. Some modern scholars have been led nearly as far astray by erroneous inference from the rudeness of the verse. Thus Chr. Petersen ('Ursprung und Alter der Hesiodischen Theogonie') supposes the first compilation of the 'Theogony' to date from B.C. 900, and regards the verses common to Homer and Hesiod as taken by both from a 'pre-Ionian' source!

² See notes on 'Il.' xi. and xviii.

³ Hesiod was also credited with metrical treatises on augury and prodigies, the former of which ('Ornithomanteia') appears to have been tacked on to the 'Works and Days,' the last line of the appendix (the 'Days') lending itself to this combination. The 'Instructions of Cheiron' was likewise thrown in, and the poem thus enlarged was called the 'Greater Works.' Well might the poet be called 'lover of all learning' (Hermesianax, 22)! For these and still later apocrypha, see Markscheffler, 'Hesiodi, Cinaethonis, etc. fragmenta,' with prolegom.

certainly to Hesiod. An analysis of the poem proves it to be decidedly composite and heterogeneous. We have first (after a rhapsodist's preface) a homily addressed, or purporting to be addressed, by the poet to 'Perses,' his brother. This is interrupted by two loosely inserted myths or mythical apologues (47-105, 109-201), after which it is resumed in a twofold series of reflections and maxims concerning justice, industry, and sundry social duties, the first addressed, as before to the brother, the second (317-82) impersonal. Then follow instructions for farming (the 'Works')¹ in proper sequence according to the seasons and evidently by one hand, with the exception of a description of winter (504-35) in a markedly different style. Some simple rules for navigation are added; with these occur two personal notices (631-42, 646-62), the latter of which (concerning a victory of Hesiod at a musical contest) is certainly fictitious. Then comes another set of precepts, ceremonial as well as moral (695-764), some of a mystic character. Lastly, in a similar vein, the list of 'days' lucky and unlucky.

How much of this conglomerate is actually Hesiod's? If, as can hardly be doubted, the 'Works' was originally separate from the ethical pieces and from the 'Days,' the existing combination must be the result of later literary editing. But is the inner as well as the outer framework involved

¹ The word denotes here, as in Homer, tilled lands. The title 'Works and Days' was, no doubt, invented by the editor (see below), so as to include his own additions.

in the literary scheme? Is 'Perses' a lay-figure, and the lawsuit between the brothers an editorial fiction? If so, not much is left for the 'Hesiod' behind the editor. He can only be regarded as a 'village oracle,' who gathered up the practical wisdom and experience of his neighbourhood and put it into metrical maxims.¹ The poet's personality, however, is too strongly manifested throughout the homily to admit of this assumption; and the very absence of formal design points the other way. Perses is addressed abruptly, without any introduction such as an editor would have contrived. Throughout the pregnant moral counsels and lively apologues there is, indeed, no semblance of a logical dissertation, but there is a spontaneity which indicates that they are the impromptu thoughts of an untutored poet taking up his parable in solemn earnest and framing his ideas as best he could, in myth and maxim, with no logical consistency save what is due to insistence on his main theme—justice.² It is clear also that this homily had its origin in the same mind as the 'Works,' which is a sermon on the duty of labour as well as a practical treatise. Not only is the same moral tone and the same turn of thought unmistakably exhibited in both, but they are characterized alike by masterly terseness and shrewd homely humour, by a rough

¹ K. Lehrs ('*Quaestiones epicae*,' 179–252) supposes the nucleus (apart from the 'Works') to have been an alphabetical series of 'golden rules.'

² Croiset ('*Histoire de la Littérature Grecque*,' vol. I., II, 2) points out that there is similar incohesion in the Homeric speeches, where ethical ideas come in.

but vivid touch in description, and a peculiar lifelike picturesqueness in the higher flights of allegory.¹

We may therefore restore to Hesiod, in addition to the poem on husbandry, an ethical discourse in the form of an exhortation to justice, or, as Fick terms it, a 'Reproof' (Rügelied). Assuming the notice of the author's family (631-42) to be authentic, we find that these two lays, and presumably the majority of the detached maxims, were composed by a farmer-poet,² whose father, a sea-trader (*emporos*) of Kyme in Asia Minor, had quitted that place on account of poverty and settled at Askra³ in Boiotia. Brought up there, Hesiod acquired the art of epic verse, and gained a local fame by embodying in it practical lessons of husbandry, together with a whole proverbial philosophy of his own creation. His first essay, the 'Reproof,' was addressed in all seriousness to his brother, but it was pointed likewise at the local nobles, whose iniquitous award in the lawsuit had driven him from his abode. The 'Works,' a longer and more continuous lay, was framed in his new home, which was probably Naupaktos.³

¹ *E. g.* the personification of the good and evil Strife and that of Justice as an outraged maiden complaining to Zeus (219 ff., 256 ff.): compare the conclusion of the 'Myth of the Ages.'

² Near Thespiiai. A quaint reflection (640) on the 'hateful' climate of Askra is an undesigned coincidence which serves to link the 'Works' and the 'Reproof' together.

³ Cf. l. 635 *n.* According to the traditional story of Hesiod's death ('Agon' 322 Göttl., cf. Thukyd. iii. 96), the scene of it was in this region (the Ozolian Lokris), and he was first buried in the same locality. His remains appear to have been removed to Askra and ultimately to Orchomenos, where his tomb was shown

It may be assumed that these lays were recited by the author himself, and circulated through the simple medium of the club-feast and the *lesche*, and perhaps at larger rustic gatherings. His maxims would be similarly given out and locally preserved as 'household words.' The preface (1-10) suggests, however, that the 'Reproof,' to which it is prefixed, was roughly rhapsodized. The two myths may have been inserted by rhapsodists, or by the editor from rhapsodists' copies. But, as they are in all probability Hesiodic in substance, we must suppose (1) that the poet strained his real gift for apologue by attempts to blend the traditional stories of the gods with ethical motives and curious speculations or superstitions; (2) that he imagined the world as peopled with invisible myriads of guardian demons (122, cf. 252) and malignant spirits (102); (3) that he looked on labour as a divine penalty and a curse of the 'iron age.'

The remainder must be ascribed, for the most part, to the editing which gave the poem its present literary form. The miscellaneous impersonal maxims (317-82) may have been collected from genuine local houses, but the other series (695-764) and the 'Days' appear from their position and from their peculiar tone to be mainly the editor's production.

As to the date of the editing and that of Hesiod

in the agora (according to Aristotle in a work on the polity of Orchomenos, see 'Vita Hesiod.' and Pausan. ix. 38). The claim of the latter city is explained, if we suppose that the 'Reproof' was composed there, not at Askra (cf. l. 35 *n.*).

himself, the following appear to be the safest clues :

(1) The editor's mysticism, though not so pronounced as to prove him an Orphic or Pythagorean, implies some acquaintance and sympathy with the Orphic theosophy, which was hardly developed before the sixth century. If we assign to him also the description of the month 'Lenaion,' with its Ionic colouring, and the fiction about Hesiod's victory at Chalkis with its Ionian motive, we have evidence that his public included Ionian readers.¹ The sixth century is perhaps the earliest time which admits of such an editor or so extensive a public. But the editing may well be dated early in that century, since the calendar ('Days') itself was referred to as Hesiodic by Herakleitos² (about B.C. 500).

¹ It is significant that an Ionian poet, Kerkops of Miletos, to whom the 'Aigimios' was sometimes ascribed, was brought into connection with Hesiod. Diogenes Laert. (ii. 46) speaks of them as contemporary rivals, with reference perhaps to some story of a contest between Kerkops *quâ* author of the 'Aigimios,' and Hesiod *quâ* author of the 'Catalogue.' Fick ('Hesiods Gedichte') assumes that this Kerkops (of whom nothing is positively known) is identical with the Pythagorean of the same name, and explains the association by the conjecture that he was the editor of much of the Hesiodic literature, including the 'Aigimios,' and that he transposed the 'Works' and the 'Theogony' into their present Ionic form.

² Plutarch, 'Camill.' 19. Herakleitos maintained against Hesiod that 'every day is by nature alike.' Herodotos, ii. 82, speaks of Greek poetasters as having adopted from Egypt the dedication of months and days to different gods, and the doctrine of the birthday as influencing fortunes. These are probably Orphic poets of later date, but the mysticism of the 'Days' is

(2) For the genuine Hesiod a lower limit of time is fixed by reminiscences in one poet at least of the seventh century, viz. Simonides of Amorgos, who flourished probably about B. C. 625.¹ He copied, for instance, the maxim in praise of a good wife (fr. 6 Bergk, cf. 'Works,' 702-3). There is, perhaps, an echo of 'Works' 203-313 in Archilochos (fr. 88 Bergk), who is earlier by a generation. A considerable time must have elapsed before the Boiotian poet's lays could attain such popularity. If we allow only two generations between Hesiod and Simonides, the 'Works' must be at least as early as B. C. 700.²

On the other hand, both the language and style of Hesiod, and the social conditions and character of the age which is reflected in this poem, appear to preclude any greater antiquity. The phraseology, though essentially original and racy, is thoroughly

plainly akin. Some of the ceremonial rules, too, are quasi-Egyptian, *e.g.* l. 731-2; cf. Herod. ii. 35.

¹ A. Steitz ('Werke und Tage des Hesiodos') adheres to the earlier date given by Suidas, about B. C. 692.

² That we have no historical record of Hesiod, nothing indeed but what he tells us of himself, does not prove that he belonged to an earlier time than the epic poets of whom we have historic notices, Arktinos (fl. B. C. 776) and his contemporaries, Kinaithon and Eumelos. His obscurity is due to the accident of locality. His date must be appreciably lowered, if we connect his father's emigration, as Fick suggests, with the Kimmerian invasion of Asia Minor in the reign of Kandaules (B. C. 700 or later), or with the Lydian encroachment under his successor, Gyges (B. C. 687-52). For the latter of these speculative arguments see Prof. Mahaffy, 'Gk. Lit.' I. ch. 5.

epic in its basis, and presupposes long familiarity with the Homeric poetry in a region far removed from its Asiatic sources.¹ As regards civilization, though the Hesiodic society is poor on the material side compared with the Homeric,² it is far less primitive. In Homer we have the 'common field' along with the king's *temenos*, or great pastures tended by thralls with occasional allotments; in Hesiod land is held in private property, divided by bequest (36-7) and freely bought and sold (336-41). Iron is in common use, and it stands as the symbol of the age itself. Justice is administered in a regular agora, where the idler 'listens' for amusement. There is similar significance in the mention of the club-feast (773), the tavern (493), the courtesan (373), the mendicant (26), the night-robber (605). Slavery and piracy, the inevitable incidents of Homeric warfare, have declined; the word 'thrall' has lost its old meaning, for the poorest labourer is a freeman. Hesiod himself, lastly, represents a middle class or yeomanry, which has no counterpart in the Homeric age.

¹ Regarding the use (transitional) of the digamma and local Doric traits in the language, see A. Rzach, 'Der Dialekt des Hesiodos.' Some vestiges of the Aeolic, which are peculiar to the 'Works' and not found in the 'Theogony,' may be explained by the poet's antecedents. Fick infers from these that the whole Hesiodic portion was originally in the Aeolic dialect.

² See l. 424, *ν*. The agriculture, however, is all on a smaller scale, and the poet does not concern himself with several things which are described in Homer, *e. g.* irrigation and draining, manuring, the cultivation of fruit-trees.

The spirit of the times is reflected no less clearly in the discontent, which is the deeper motive of the 'Reproof,' and which finds a strange prophetic expression in the 'Myth of the Ages.' There is a real burden of despondency in this last remnant of Achaian song, and it tells of a real depravation in the Greek world. The golden youth of the Greek race, the bright energy which created the larger life of Asiatic Hellas, belonged already to the past. The political blight, which ensued on the Dorian conquest, was exemplified for Hesiod in the sordid nobility of Thespiiai, in the starved and petty city-life of Boiotia. The dull atmosphere around him was that which overspread European Hellas during the inglorious interval between the old and the new order, the age of iron torpor which went before the revival of national spirit and prosperity and the renascence of poetry in the Hellenic prime. ✓

1-10. Ye Pierian Muses, sing of Zeus. He uplifts one man to fame and humbles another. Hear thou (Zeus) and see justice done. I will tell truth unto Perses.

11-41. Eris (Strife) is of twofold kind, the one good, the other evil. The one fosters war and discord; men do her homage but love her not. The other, who is the elder child of Night, was appointed by Zeus to the end that every man should labour :

1-10. This fragmentary prelude looks as if it had belonged to a rhapsodist's copy of one of the two lays addressed to Perses.

11-41. Part of the earlier lay or 'Reproof'; the first line

‘Wright is set against wright and potter loveth not potter,
Beggars with beggars and bard with bard hath a quarrel of envy.’

(25-6.) Wherefore, Perses, work and eschew the wicked Eris; leave loitering in the agora (29), and let our cause be settled here (35) by a fair award. Thou didst rob me when we divided our inheritance, and the greedy princes abetted thee for bribes. Fools they are, who know not that the half is more than the whole (40), and that there is great riches in mallows and asphodel (41).

42-105. Zeus has made living hard for men; else might a day's labour suffice for a year. It was because Prometheus deceived him (48). He hid the fire, and the son of Iapetos stole it again in a hollow

perhaps re-set in allusion to ‘Theog.’ 255. Ll. 25-6, which are quoted by Plato and Aristotle, quaintly describe the good Eris (in modern language, Competition) as a kind of standing jealousy between men of the same calling. The loitering in the law-court (29) for amusement indicates the nascent Hellenic city-life. ‘Here’ (35) is probably at Orchomenos rather than Askra. 40-1. Two old adages expressing the Greek principle of moderation (cf. 694). For asphodel, the food only of the poorest, see ‘Od.’ xi. 573; it was like the lotus-bread which the Egyptian peasant ate in bad times.

42-105. This version of the Prometheus-Pandora myth differs materially from that in the ‘Theogony’ (535 ff.). It is less probable that one was copied from the other than that both are adaptations from some larger lay (presumably Hesiodic): each compiler has ‘summed the tale’ (106) differently, enlarging or curtailing as suited his idea. The gist of the story as here given is that Zeus, in retaliation for Prometheus’ improvement of man, inflicted on him the vanity and luxury of the female sex (not the sex itself), making industry a hard necessity. The initial fraud of Prometheus is passed over with a bare hint (48): not Athene

fennel. Wherefore he avowed that he would recompense that gift with evil. At his command [Hephaistos made the image of a maiden in clay, Athene instructed her in fine weaving, Aphrodite shed grace upon her, Hermes gave her cunning unabashed] Hephaistos made one like to a chaste maiden, Athene robed her, the Charites and Peitho and the Horai adorned her, Hermes implanted in her crafty parole and named her Pandora, because she had gifts from all the gods : then Zeus sent her to Epimetheus and he took her in, despite Prometheus' warning. Mankind lived ere then without labour and pain and sickness ; but the woman opened a great jar and let loose all those ills ; only hope (96) stayed within. For earth and sea are full of evils ; by night and day diseases (102) go abroad dumbly, since Zeus has taken away their voice.

106-8. I will sum thee another tale, how that gods and men have one origin.

109-201. First, in Kronos' reign (111), the gods of

alone, but first Athene, Aphrodite and Hermes, then Athene, the Charites, Peitho, the Horai and Hermes, bestow gifts [but the first passage (60-8), which makes the woman a wraith, must belong to a different recension or rhapsodist's copy] : the woman has a name (Pandora) ; the story of the jar (*pitthos*) is introduced. How the jar came to be in the house we are not told ; according to Proklos, Prometheus had stowed the evils away in it to keep them from mankind. Hope (96) is ranked as an evil ; it must therefore be equivalent to illusion : but why is it said to have stayed behind ? Is this a confusion of the story which Aischylos follows ('Prom. V.' 258), that Prometheus planted 'blind hope' in men to save them from the misery of foreseeing and brooding on death ?

Olympos made a golden race of men, ever young and strong, living and dying in peace, rich in the fruits of the soil and in cattle. These being buried are demons (122) and guardians of men, appointed by Zeus to walk the earth, clad in mist, watching them who do right and wrong, dispensing wealth as kings. Next the gods made a worse race that was of silver: they were babes for a hundred years but short-lived afterwards, for they fell to violence and worshipped not the gods with sacrifice; wherefore Zeus in his anger buried them likewise. Yet they have their honour beneath the earth and they are called mortals blest (141). Then Zeus made a third race, the

109-201. This lay of the Five Ages is generally regarded as a loose fragment of Hesiodic poetry, which has been saved owing to its insertion in this place, and as such it has been supposed to embody some primitive traditions reaching to, if not beyond, the Aryan foretime; Lehrs, on the contrary, considers it a crude concoction by the editor, a patchwork from five different sources. It is rather an apologue than a genuine myth, in this context at least. It serves, like the preceding story, to enforce the obligation to labour as a necessity and a penalty. The metals are intended to contrast the successive ages in point of worth, not to figure their respective characteristics. It is to be noticed, therefore, (1) that silver is definitely compared with gold and valued below it, whereas in Homer gold is only appraised against bronze: this implies the influx of silver from the Phoenician mines in Spain; (2) that iron is now inferior to bronze (see Index, s. v.). This 'learned' allusion to iron as later than bronze is in odd contrast with 'Theog.' 161, where adamant (hardened iron, *i. e.* steel) is as old as Earth. 111. Kronos appears to have been installed on Olympos, as in the source of 'Theog.' 632: so in 'Prom. V.' 149, 957 ff. 122. This notion of invisible terrestrial spirits acting as guardian angels (the

bronzen, born of the Meliai (145), terrible warriors with hearts of adamant and huge arms [their armour and tools and houses were of bronze (150), for there was no iron]: they slew one another and went to Hades nameless. Thereafter he made a worthier race, even the heroes who are called demi-gods (160); some fell in battle at Thebe or in Troia, others he suffered to dwell afar from men in the isles of the Blest by the deep-swirling Ocean. Would that I had died before this the fifth age, or had been born later! (175). 'Tis

office of the gods themselves in Homer) may be a survival, or a late echo, of foreign tradition. L. Roth ('Mythus von den Weltaltern,' etc., Tübingen, 1860) suggests that here and l. 140 f. we have, in a mutilated and meaningless form, the doctrine which is developed in the Veda, of a guardianship of mankind divided between ancestors and divine watchers (*śpaças*), who are peacefully counteracted by other spirits belonging to the dark side of Heaven. Hence, he thinks, the Greek poet introduced the men of the first age as guardians and those of the second as 'having their honour,' but only in the dark Under-world (cf. 252 ff.). 145. The ash-nymphs, who, according to 'Theog.' 187, were bred by Gaia from the blood of Ouranos together with the Gigantes and the Erinyes. 150. An interpolation, which misinterprets the epithet 'bronzen.' 160. The simple theory of a deterioration of the human race is modified to make room for the Homeric tradition: not only the Trojan but the Theban legends are presupposed. The heroic race is traced to the gods; it has no link with the savagery of the bronzen age. The legend which disposed of the earlier population by a flood, and left Deukalion and Pyrrha to start a new generation, belonged to a different area (Thessaly). It was recognized in the 'Catalogue,' which traced the eponymous ancestors of the great Greek tribes through Hellen and Deukalion to Prometheus and Pandora. 175. It is implied that there will be yet another generation, which will begin better. 181. Apparently a symptom of depravity.

the iron race, full of weariness and trouble. Yet a little good shall be meted unto these, but Zeus will destroy them what time they are born with grey temples (181). Child and sire will be unlike, there will be no kindness toward guest or comrade or brother, parents will be reviled and cast off in their old age, city will destroy city, the just man will be supplanted by the evil-doing and violent, the lying and rancorous tongue will prevail, and at last Aidōs (Honour) and Nemesis (Resentment) will veil them in their white robes (198) and depart from the earth to Olympos.

202-382. A hawk carried off a nightingale in his claws: 'Waste not thy voice,' said he, 'I will let thee go or make a meal of thee as I choose.' 'Tis folly to defy the stronger. Violence is a sore burden that bears down the noble with the poor man. Take the path of Justice at the crossway. Justice hath the upper hand of violence in the end. A fool will lose ere he learn (218). Horkos (219) pursues after crooked judgments. When Justice is haled by corrupt men, a tumult ensues; clad in mist, she goes weeping from town to town and plagues them who have dealt

202-382. The 'Reproof' is resumed in the form of a homily (addressed to Perses as far as l. 316) concerning Justice and Violence, with miscellaneous maxims on thrift, industry, hospitality, etc. Many of these metrical apophthegms must have been originally detached, and some have been altered with awkward effect, *e.g.* where the abstract Justice is replaced by 'this justice' (l. 249, 269). 202. A moral tale (*ainos*) pointed at the unjust princes: the bird of song is the poet. 218. Modelled on 'Il.' xvii. 32. 219. The oath personified, like

ill with her. The city that abides by Justice thrives in peace, hunger visits it not and the fields are busy with feasting, the oak yields acorns and bees (233) unto the people, they have plenty from the earth and fare not in ships. But Zeus judges the violent, he punishes the whole city for one man's wickedness, he smites the people with hunger and pestilence, he destroys their armies and their ships. He has myriad guardians (252), who watch the doers of right and wrong. Justice, his maiden child, has her seat by his side: when men malign her, she declares their iniquity unto him. The mischievous hurts himself, the deceitful deceives himself. Zeus has ordained (276) for the beasts to devour one another, but for men to do justice and to prosper thereby. The false man begets a mean race, but the upright is blest in his prosperity (285).

'Themis': cf. 'Theog.' 231. 222. Justice is here (and 256 ff.) graphically portrayed as a modest maiden, whom men handle rudely and insult. 233. A reminiscence of actual primitive life (see Schrader, 'Aryan Antiq.' p. 317) converted into a poetical fiction. For the bees hiving in tree-trunks (or gathering the saccharine deposit on the leaves?) cf. Vergil, 'Ecl.' iv. 30, 'Georg.' i. 131. 276. Lit. 'has assigned an ordinance' (*nomos*). This word, altogether unknown to Homer, here approaches its later meaning ('law'); so l. 388, it denotes a 'rule' of agriculture (cf. 'Theog.' 417). A corresponding advance is implied in the Hesiodic use of *ēthos* ('character'), 'Works,' 67. Cf. 'Theog.' 66, where the two words are used together ('laws and manners'). 285. This verse reappears in a so-called oracle concerning Glaukos (Herod. vi. 86), which is thus convicted of being a literary invention: many such 'oracles' are merely proverbs or maxims (cf. R. Hendess, 'Oracula Graeca'). 287 ff. Cf. S. Matth. vii. 14. Besides the maxims translated there are others on the advantage of taking advice (293 ff., cited by Arist.

'Wickedness lieth in heaps ; thou may'st get handful on handful :
(288) Nigh at thy door it dwelleth and smooth to thy feet is the
roadway.

Would'st thou have virtue, go up in the sweat of thy brow to
attain it !

Long is the path and steep which the deathless Gods have
prepared thee,

Yea 'tis rough at the first ; but set thy foot on the summit
Once, and the labour is light to the last and the hardship is easy.
Idleness shameth the idler, but work ne'er shameth the workman.
Bid thy friend to the board and leave thy foe at the threshold :
Whomsoe'er thou biddest, bethink thee first of thy neighbour :
Surely, if cumber befall on a time and a coil in the village,
Neighbours will hie unbraced, but kinsmen tarry to gird them.
Who hath an honest neighbour, the same hath a guerdon of
Heaven.

Give thou measure for measure and more, if thou hast, to thy
neighbour ;

So is thy refuge assured, if need o'ertake thee hereafter.

Clean be thy hands, for gain ill-gotten is bane altogether.

Friendship with friendship requite, nor turn thy face from a
greeting.

Give unto him who giveth, but give not to him who refuseth :

Gift deserveth gift, but nothing deserveth nothing.

Mischief goeth abroad ; who stayeth at home shall escape it.

'Tis a fool, who saveth the dregs, when the jar is drained to the
bottom ;

Take thy fill at the first and the last, but husband the middle.'

383-503. Begin the reaping when the Pleiades rise
and the ploughing when they set (384). [They are

'Eth.' i. 4), on false shame and false pride, on sins against a
guest or suppliant, against a brother's wife, against an aged
father, with more homely advice, *e. g.* to beware of the woman
whose dress sets off her hips (373). A false reading of l. 299
(where Perses is addressed as 'noble child,' borrowed from 'Il.'
ix. 538) gave rise to the invention of 'Dios' as the name of
Hesiod's father.

hidden forty nights and days and appear again what time the sickle is being sharpened (387).] Strip thyself for all field-work, to wit, in farms on the plain or by the sea or in sheltered vales (391). First of all, get a homestead and a woman and an ox for the plough. Have thy tools ready betimes; diligence enriches labour (411). Fell timber when the late-summer (415) rains and the days of Seirios are past.

383-503. The second lay, on husbandry (to which the title 'Works' = 'fields' or 'field-labour' first belonged), extends from here to 617, with an appendix on navigation. 383. The cosmic rising of the Pleiades (*i. e.* the appearance of this constellation in the sky at sunrise) = May 18 marked the time of harvest (*theros*), the commencement of summer (cf. l. 572), their cosmic setting (disappearance at sunrise) = Nov. 3, the time for ploughing. Another ploughing in spring is prescribed in a detached maxim, l. 462: 'Turn the soil in spring and the fallow will not disappoint thee at harvest-time.' The epithet *tripolos* ('thrice-turned'), 'Theog.' 971, implies a third ploughing, but this is repeated from Homer ('Il.' xviii. 542: 'Od.' v. 127), and is not found in the 'Works.' It was introduced, perhaps, in the time when the corn-land, cultivated on the primitive 'two-shift' system, lay 'fallow' in the stricter sense in alternate years (cf. Prof. Ridgeway, 'J. H. S.,' VI. 338). 387. That is, for the reaping. The interval referred to is that between the apparent or heliacal setting of the Pleiades (when they emerge and disappear in the west after sunset) = April 4, and their rising (May 18), in reality 44 days. This passage is superfluous and probably an editorial interpolation. 391. But not in the highlands. This maxim is coupled with another apostrophe to Perses, who had been applying to Hesiod for help, an indication that the 'Works' was composed after the other poem. 411. Quoted by Pindar, 'Isth.' v. 95, as from 'Hesiod.' 415. *Opōra* ('ripening' or fruit-time), a later sub-division of summer, as spring of winter. After this time the sap will have ceased running, and the wood felled

Three feet of wood should be cut for a mortar (424), three cubits for a pestle, seven feet for an axle, three spans for the fellow of a cart-wheel of ten palms (426). A crooked bough of tough holm-oak will serve for the plough-stock, when Athene's thrall (430) has fixed it upon the share-beam and fitted it with pegs to the pole. Keep a second plough, of one piece (433), two steers nine years old, a steady ploughman of forty years; let his meal be a loaf that breaks in four and makes eight morsels (442). Begin ploughing when thou hearest the crane screaming from the clouds (448); plough the soil then, dry or wet, pray to nether

then or later will be less liable to rot. 424. For crushing corn: this primitive method is the only one known to Hesiod. It is mentioned 'Iliad' xi. 147, while in the 'Odyssey' corn is ground in mills and the grinders have a special designation. 426. The span (*spithame*)=the space measured by the outspread hand, nearly nine inches; the palm (*doron*, cf. Ir. *dearna*)=four fingers' breadth, about three inches. The fellow would be made in four pieces: each measuring three spans and the whole circumference twelve, the diameter of the wheel would be about four spans. The span was ordinarily reckoned as=three palms, so that the poet should have given twelve, not ten, palms as the diameter. 430. That is, the carpenter. Athene's peaceful office was enlarged with the advance of industry. As in the 'Odyssey' (vi. 233) she superintends the goldsmith, so at Athens she received the homage of the artisans conjointly with Hephaistos at the Chalkeia: there and in other towns she had the title Ergane ('operosa Minerva'), and in Boiotia that of Boarmia (ox-yoker), which implies that the invention of the plough was ascribed to her. 433. A piece of timber of such a shape as to furnish ready-made a plough-beam with handle and stock. In the manufactured plough the handle is to be of bay (435) or elm, the beam of oak, the stock of holm-oak. 442. Something like the Roman *quadra* (see Mayor on Juvenal, v. 2).

Zeus (465) and Demeter, and start thy pair of oxen (469) betimes with a plough-boy behind deftly raking in the seed : so wilt thou be rich and keep the spiders from thy bin. If thou plougest late, at the turning of the sun (477), thou wilt reap but handfuls ; hope then for rain, enough to fill the oxen's footprints, on the day after the cuckoo is heard. In winter shun the seat in the smithy and the warm lounge (493) ; work even then, lest with a lean hand thou pinch a swollen foot (497).

504-63. Beware the frosty month Lenaion, when the north-wind rends the forest and pierces fur and hide and hair and makes the old man bent as a wheel,

448. Migrating southwards at the first approach of winter (cf. 'Il.' iii. 3). Some proverbial sayings are inserted here, about procrastination ('a wain is built of a hundred timbers,' *i. e.* is not made in an hour), and in praise of the 'fresh-ploughed fallow,' as the land which has nothing to fear from a malicious incantation (cf. Dirksen on the 'Twelve Tables,' p. 539), and soothes children (by feeding them? Or was it supposed to be good for children to sit on newly-ploughed land, as it was bad for them to sit on tombs, l. 750?). 465. So Hades is named in a late passage of the 'Iliad' (ix. 457). 469. The terms used here are exceptional : *endruon* for the pole, *mesabon* (cf. Hebr. *asab*, to bind) for the strap by which the yoke was attached to it [or *mesaboun*, the yoke itself 'between the oxen']. 477. Midwinter, when the sun reaches the turning-point in respect of its altitude at noon : cf. 'Od.' xv. 404. 493. Suggested by 'Od.' xviii. 329 ; but there *lesche* is any lounging-place, here the epithet suggests a tavern. The word was possibly introduced through Phoenician builders in stone : cf. Hebr. *lishkhah*, banquet-room. 497. Lean hands and ulcered feet picture extreme hunger.

504-63. This description of winter is characterized by an ugly realism which is not like Hesiod. Ionian (perhaps Attic) authorship is indicated by 'Lenaion' (504), an older name of

when the boneless one (524) gnaws his feet in his cold cell, for the sun shows him not where to feed but turns away toward the dusky folk (527), and shines but a little while on the Panhellenes (528); the beasts run howling to covert and cower like a man who walks with three feet (533). Wear a woolly mantle and a long (537) doublet thick-woven, shoes of ox-hide lined with felt, a cape of kid-skin and a felt cap with ear-flaps, for Boreas blows cold in the early morning, and the watery morning mist, that nourishes the wealthy man's wheat, will turn to rain towards evening and sometimes to wind (548-53). In this hard month increase thy man's provender but stint the ox.

the Attic month Gamelion (Jan.--Feb.), which went with the Athenian colonies to Asia Minor and survived there (cf. L. Dyer, 'The Gods in Greece,' p. 132); this must have been introduced as better known than the local Boiotian name (Boukatios). 524. That is, the cuttle-fish: a bucolic conceit. So elsewhere the snail is called the 'house-carrier' (571, cf. 'hodmandod'), the ant 'the skilful,' the five fingers the 'five shoots' (743). The fallacy concerning the cuttle-fish arose from his being often seen with some tentacles missing (eaten in reality by eels). 527. The Aithiopes (cf. 'Od.' i. 22). 528. The latest use of the name (cf. 'Il.' ii. 530): so 'Hellas'=Greece, l. 653. 533. They go on three legs like a man walking with a staff: borrowed from the riddle of the Sphinx (see Athenaios, 456 B). 537. A false use of an Homeric epithet (properly 'fringed'). 548-53. This piece is peculiar (and probably Ionic) in its theorizing. The mist is supposed to descend on (instead of rising from) the rivers; thus increased it is wafted up by gusts and 'turns to rain toward evening or to wind when Boreas makes a rack.' The lines are obviously by the author of the previous description, the whole section (504-63) being probably an amplification of a few simple Hesiodic instructions touching winter.

564-617. Begin pruning the vines when Arktouros (566) rises in the twilight, ere the coming of the swallow. Prepare for harvest when the house-carrier (571) hides under the leaves to escape the Pleiades. In the summer heat, when the thistle is in blossom and the tree-cricket chirps loud and fast with his wings (583), take thy pleasure in the shade with milk-cake (589) and wine of Biblos and goat's milk after weaning-time, and the flesh of heifers forest-fed and kids. Drink by a clear spring, facing the west-wind. Pour three measures of water to one of wine (596). At Orion's rising (598) let thy thralls begin threshing on the rounded floor in a gusty place. Measure the grain ere thou store it in vessels. Hire a man with no children for thy bailiff, and take not a woman with a child at her breast for thy farm-maid (602). Keep a sharp-toothed dog to guard thy goods against the

564-617. 566. The evening or acronych rising of Arktouros (Feb. 24) marked the end of winter.—Here follow maxims about early rising : *e. g.* 'Early afield and account full third of the day to the morning.' 583. By the vibration of its wings : an observation not far from the fact. 589. That is, made from curds? More probably the epithet (*amolgaïos*) means 'perfectly baked' : for the word appears to have had, *e. g.* in Achaia, the sense of 'mature.' The Homeric *amolgos* (dead of night) may be similarly interpreted as the 'fulness (acme) of night' (according to Göbel's derivation from *smal* = swelling, cf. *multa nocte*). Biblos is here probably the name of a river and district in Naxos (cf. T. Bent, 'Cyclades,' p. 369), an island renowned for its wine. 596. A weak mixture : see Becker, 'Charicles,' Exc. 2. 598. July 19. 602. These are hired labourers (*thêtes, erithoi*), distinct from 'thralls' (*dmôes*), but the difference is one of degree rather than of status. The passage, if it is not (as some editors

night-robber (605). After the harvest, gather in hay and litter for the kine and mules. When Orion and Seirios appear in mid-heaven and Arktouros rises in sight of the Dawn (610), it is time to strip the vines. Leave the grapes in the sun ten days and five days in the shade; then draw off the juice into vats (613). Ploughing begins when the Pleiades set with the Hyades (615) and Orion.

618-94. Seafaring ends when the Pleiades sink before Orion (620). Then haul thy ship on the shore, prop it up with stones (624), draw the plug from the hold, store tackle and sails in thy house, hang up the rudder in the smoke of the hearth until the time for sailing. Then launch with a tidy cargo and hope for profit; even as my father and thine, foolish Perses, sailed hither (635) from Aiolian Kyme, fleeing from

hold) misplaced in its present context, is open to a different interpretation: 'when the crops are stored, turn out the man-labourer and take in a farm-maid instead, one who has no child to nurse' (Mahaffy, 'Gk. Lit.' I., p. 108). 610. Sept. 18. 613. The making of 'raisin' wine from partially dried grapes appears in the description of the garden of Alkinoös ('Od.' vii. 123); but there the bunches are left on the vine, here they are cut off and 'laid under the sun in order to dry out the thin and watery part, then disposed in the shade, to ensure the contraction of the grape after the sunning, and to cure the tendency to ferment by a counteracting coolness' (Proklos, quoted by Paley). 615. 'Hyades' = 'pigs' (*suculae*); this group of stars in the head of Taurus and the neighbouring 'Pleiades' ('doves') was supposed to be chased away by Orion the hunter and Seirios (his dog), cf. 620.

618-94. 624. Cf. 'Il.' xiv. 410, where these stones serve the Greeks as missiles. 635. The context indicates a place on

poverty, and dwelt near Helikon in Askra, a sorry hamlet and hateful in winter and summer alike (640). Bide thou alway the right season. Eschew a small ship; the larger cargo is the more profitable. [When thou art bent on sea-trading (646), I will show thee the measure of the sea (648), though I am no expert; I never made a voyage, save from Aulis to Chalkis in Euboia; there, in the games for Amphidamas (654), I sang and won a prize, even an eared tripod, and offered it to the Muses of Helikon where they inspired me at the first (659). Yet 'tis mine to tell the mind of Zeus.] The safe season begins fifty days after the sun's turning (663); likewise in the stormy spring, when the first leaf shoots on the topmost boughs no

the coast, probably Naupaktos. This narrative can hardly be a forgery, as Götting and Steitz suspect, inserted merely to justify the traditions respecting Hesiod's places of residence. 646-62. Plutarch (probably on the authority of Aristotle) mentions a 'king' of Chalkis named Amphidamas, who perished in a war between his city and Eretria for the possession of the Lelantian plain. It is doubtful whether this tradition is merely an echo of prehistoric time or related to an historical war contemporary with the rule of the Kypselids at Corinth, *i. e.* after B. C. 657 (Theognis, 887 ff.). But Pausanias, where he mentions (ix. 31, 3) a tripod in the temple of the Muses on Mt. Helikon, supposed to have been won by Hesiod for the very victory here referred to, does not notice this passage: it is either the reminiscence of some Hesiodic rhapsodist or an interpolation suggested by the tripod itself. 646. *emporía*: this is later than the *emporos* of the 'Odyssey' (ii. 319) = 'ship-passenger.' Hesiod's father was a regular sea-trader (l. 634). 648. Imitated from an Homeric phrase ('Od.' iv. 389). 659. The interpolator may have founded this on the allusion to Hesiod in the introduction to the 'Theogony' (ll. 22-3), where see note. 663. When the northerly

larger than a crow's-foot (681), a voyage may be snatched; I like it not, but men are reckless, for money is e'en the breath of life to pitiful mortals. Trust not all to one ship: overload not thy wain, lest it break down:

'Alway be mindful of measure; the mean is the better in all things.'

695-764. Marry a wife about thy thirtieth year, a maid four years adult. A man gets no richer booty than a good wife (702). Make not thy friend as thy brother; be not the first to injure him, neither deceive him lightly; if he offend thee, requite him twofold (711), yet if he offer amends, refuse not. 'Tis a poor wight who makes friends everywhere (713); let not thy face belie thine heart. Be moderate in thine hospitality; avoid the bad, be courteous to a good man. Taunt not the poor with his misfortune. Be thrifty of speech. If thou speak

Etesian winds have ceased blowing in the Aegean. 681. A survival of the primitive mode of designating times and seasons by the flowering of certain plants: cf. Keightley on Ovid's 'Fasti' (introd.).

695-764. A disconnected series of practical precepts. Mingled with these are minute ceremonial rules of decency and reverence (for the hearth, for running water, etc.), which stand apart from the morality embodied in the 'Reproof' and the 'Works,' but are closely associated with the 'Days.' 702. Copied by Simonides of Amorgos. A bad wife is described here as 'one who besets the dinner-table'; hence it would appear that the women, as a rule, took their meals separately: the men, on the other hand, clubbed together, each entertaining his friends in turn (l. 723). 711. The ancient rule of 'retaliation' applied *a*

evil, men will speak worse of thee. Be not chary of the club-feast (723); 'tis pleasant and cheapest withal. Pour the morning libation with washen hands . . . Ere thou cross a river, wash thy hands and pray toward the stream. Pare not the dry (743) from the quick upon thy five shoots at a sacrificial feast. 'Tis unlucky to set the oinochoe (745) above the bowl while any are drinking. Leave not a house-wall unfinished (746) for the crow to perch thereon. Offer to the gods ere thou take meat or water (748) from the boiling-pot. 'Tis ill to sit on a tomb (750).

fortiori where the offender had been a friend. 723. The same institution (*eranos*) is disclosed in the 'Odyssey' (i. 226, iv. 622). 743. The finger-nail (cf. l. 524) : the knife is of iron. This was a Pythagorean rule, like some others here addressed to the 'godly-wise' man (731). The superstition (which has survived in connection with Sunday) originated in the fear of a sorcerer getting possession of the nail-parings. 745. The vessel with which the cup-bearer (*oinochoos*) filled the cup from the mixing-bowl ; it would seem that the bowl was inverted and the oinochoe laid on it, when the feast was closed, but it was unlucky to do this before the last cup was emptied. 746. Mr. Lang compares the ghostly rappings supposed to be heard in unfinished houses. 748. For the bath? 750. Or (if the following lines are genuine) 'to let a boy of twelve days or twelve months sit on a tomb.' Young children, being subject to fits, were supposed to be in most danger from malign ghosts. 753. Cf. 'Golden Bough,' i. 186 ff. 756. 'From flouting at things unseen.'

765-828. This calendar is founded on the month of thirty days divided, as at Athens, into three decades (the 'beginning' or 'increasing,' the 'middle,' the 'waning') ; the twofold division is, however, recognized, *e. g.* 776, 780 (cf. 'Od.' xix. 307). This arrangement (older than Solon's time, *circa* B. C. 600) points to an Ionic origin ; it was strange to Boiotia. The author knows of other calendars (l. 768, 'when the people make a true distinc-

Beware of washing after a woman (753). Guard thy tongue (756) if thou pass an altar alight . . . Eschew gossip : rumour is a sore burden, albeit easy to raise. Rumour is immortal, and dies not on men's lips.

765-828. The Days.

tion'). The birthdays of gods are holy, *e. g.* 7th (Apollo), but the gods are not named except in this instance. The 5th is unlucky as the birthday of Horkos, the child of Eris ('Theog.' 231). The 12th is recommended for setting the warp and for gathering in the corn, for the fanciful reason that it is the day on which, in the midsummer month, the spider begins its web and the ant ('the skilful') its heap. There are special days for gathering in corn, commencing to plant, threshing, sheep-shearing, gelding, breaking-in and yoking cattle, cutting ship-timber, beginning to build a ship and launching it ; for broaching a wine-jar ; likewise for marrying (the 4th, as sacred to Aphrodite?) and for getting children : for the day influences character, *e. g.* a male child begotten on the 6th will grow to be gay and quick-witted. The conclusion is as follows : 'These are the profitable days ; the rest are make-weights of no import. Howbeit one puts faith in one day and one in another, and there be few that know : a day proves now a step-mother and now a mother. The farmer will prosper who knows these things and is a discerner of birds' (*i. e.* birds of omen).

Respecting the text of the Hesiodic poems and the ancient commentators see C. Götting's edition,**cur.* J. Flach. The principal MSS. are Med. xxxi. 39 (eleventh cent.) and Med. xxxii. 16 (twelfth cent.). The latter includes the composite poem known as the 'Shield of Herakles,' so named from the description, 228-317, which is probably the latest portion. The whole translated in English verse by C. A. Elton, the 'Works' by George Chapman.

CHAPTER VI

THE HESIODIC 'THEOGONY'

THIS elaborate genealogy of the gods, and the companion 'Catalogue' of 'heroines,' represent no new departure like the 'Works and Days.' On the contrary, they were both the outcome—the latter directly, the former indirectly—of a special phase of the Greek religion which developed itself in advance of the new Hellenic polity after the close of the Homeric age, viz., the worship of 'heroes' as founders of clans and cities.¹ The heroic mythology, which went with this worship, was mainly the work of the poets who expanded the older epic with the stories of

¹ A lucid and interesting view of the Greek and Roman ancestor-worship is given in 'La Cité Antique,' by Fustel de Coulanges (translated by W. Small, 'The Ancient City'). The historical perspective, however, is faulty in some points. The Graeco-Italian cults are treated in too direct connection with the Vedic ritual, and no explanation is offered of the lacuna which Homer as a whole presents. The Roman nobility had a poor equivalent for the genealogical romances in question, and for the Pindaric encomia, in the *naeniae* (songs in honour of the dead); see Teuffel-Schwabe, 'Hist. of Roman Literature,' I., § 82.

Thebes, Sparta, Corinth, and other centres of the post-Achaian civilization. The essential purpose of all this mythological poetry was to consecrate the 'city' and set the Muses' seal on its divine title-deeds; in other words, to furnish an heroic ancestry for the noble families who constituted the *polis*, by affiliating them to the deified men or the degraded gods of the Hellenic polytheism. The genealogical tendency is already discernible in the more or less irrelevant fragments of mythology found in the later portions of the 'Iliad' and 'Odyssey,' which presuppose, if they are not actually adapted from, local heroögonies or genealogical epics.¹ In the later epics, the genealogical interest must have been quite paramount: those of Kinaithon, ostensibly concerning Odysseus, Herakles, Oidipous, etc., were really (as Pausanias calls them, ii. 3, 7) 'genealogies' in narrative form; Eumelos was himself a member of the ruling nobility of Corinth (Bacchiadai), and his theme was the legendary story of his own city ('Korinthiaka'). The two so-called Hesiodic poems had the same motive, embodied the same material, and were complements one of the other.

The 'Catalogue'² was a multifarious collection of

¹ With these mythological ingredients in Homer the serial style of narration likewise begins to appear. Cf. 'Il.' xiv. 315-28 (the loves of Zeus), xviii. 39-49 (list of the Nereids), xix. 88-136 (descendants of Perseus), xx. 199-258 (posterity of Aineias); 'Od.' xi. 235-332.

² Literally 'Catalogues,' in five books. The last two (or the fourth only, containing Argive and Thessalian legends) were known as the 'Eoiai,' from the words 'or like as,' with

heroic pedigrees interwoven with local myths—the Greek 'Peerage,' as it has been called, and the 'Bible' of this new cult of heroic founders, which gave the aristocracy a divine right to rule the cities. The 'Theogony' is mainly a genealogical account of the Olympian gods and their ancestry, and it is earlier at least in its inception. But that its object was essentially analogous is evident on the surface; for the pedigrees of gods and heroes are frequently interlaced, and much of the subject-matter consists of local heroic legends.¹

The main subject of the 'Theogony'—the Olympian

which each list commenced. This portion was distinguished by somewhat picturesque narrative: one piece has been preserved as a preface to the 'Shield of Herakles' (1-52). As the foundation of Kyrene (B. C. 631) appears to be assumed (fr. 81), the 'Catalogue,' or part of it, must be subsequent to that date; other evidence points to the period between Olymp. 40 and 50.

¹ The same influences reappear in the contemporary sculpture and vase-painting. It was in the seventh and sixth centuries, when the nobility was at the height of its power and pride, that human figure-subjects were freely introduced in scenes borrowed from the epic poetry. Of this period, for example, was the Chest of Kypselos (before B. C. 600), described by Pausanias (v. 18), and the François vase, the finest example of the older (black-figured) style, is assigned on the evidence of inscriptions upon it in the early Attic alphabet to the first half of the sixth century. The reliefs on the Chest (in ivory, gold, and ebony) presented some figures which may have been suggested by the 'Theogony,' *e. g.* Destruction (Kêr), Justice and Injustice (the one fair, the other hideous), and Night carrying her children, Sleep and Death, represented as boys in her arms (the one white, the other black), cf. 'Theog.' 719.

genealogy—is followed out with a persistency which shows that the poem was at least projected by one author, bent on the task of chronicling the generations of the gods from the beginning to the establishment of the Olympian rule. At the same time, the narrative is in some places awkwardly curtailed, and in others strangely disjointed and confused, especially where florid descriptions are embroidered on the thin texture of the genealogies. The explanation of this is difficult, whether on the theory of enlargement and interpolation, or on that of unskilful compilation from different sources;¹ but the entire structure, including that of the miscellaneous introduction, too plainly betrays the mechanical and perfunctory handiwork of an editor, who appears to have supplemented the original composition from one or two other poems and added, on his own account, the concluding piece

¹ For the former theory, see A. Meyer, 'De compositione Theogon. Hes.,' Berlin 1887. He assigns the following portions to a second poet, who worked over the original with a uniform purpose: 23-35, 139-53, 295-336, 410-52, 492-506, 617-735, 881-5, 901-29; he regards 736-880 as a subsequent addition. Several theories (O. F. Gruppe, G. Hermann, A. Köchly) postulate that the original structure was strophic: on these, see G. F. Schömann's edition, introd. Fick reduces the (Hesiodic) nucleus to three strophic sections, each of 144 lines. O. Gruppe, on the other hand ('Die Griech. Culte u. Mythen,' § 46), assumes a variety of sources for the Titan-battle, the Typhoeus episode, the fall of Ouranos, etc. (see notes). The piecemeal copying and adaptation of incongruous materials, which his analysis implies, is intelligible if we ascribe it to an editor whose 'sources' were different rhapsodists' versions; and this is borne out by the motley introduction, a patchwork of proems designed for as many different recitations.

(963-1018) to connect the 'Theogony' with the 'Catalogue.'¹

The principal argument for identifying the original author with the poet of the 'Works,' is the frequent correspondence in phraseology and the similar, though somewhat larger, residue of Doric forms in the poem before us.² But the diction lacks the robust originality which stamps the 'Works'; the borrowing of Homeric phrases is more obtrusive, about one-fifth of the lines being copied wholly or partly from the 'Iliad' or 'Odyssey';³ there is nowhere any approach to the terse sententious style, of which the real Hesiod was master. The supposed allusion to 'Hesiod' in the first person is no evidence, since it occurs only in the introduction (22) and probably rests on a mere mistake. It goes far, however, to account for the ascription of the 'Theogony' to the farmer-poet, in spite of such marked dissimilarity both in style and in the turn of thought.

We have a general clue to the local origin of the

¹ The editor was possibly the author of the 'Catalogue.' For, in the appended section (l. 1002), Cheiron is designated Philyrides, son of Philyra (his mother), and this matronymic is in keeping with the peculiar standpoint of the 'Catalogue,' which traced all the genealogies in the female line. This may point to a Lokrian origin, for in Lokris the titles of the nobility rested on maternal descent (Polyb. xiv. 5, after Aristotle). Schömann holds that the 'Theogony,' though framed from earlier materials, was designed merely to be recited as a prelude to the 'Catalogue.'

² See A. Steitz, 'Die Werke,' etc., ch. 2.

³ Cf. J. B. E. Kausch, 'Quatenus Hesiodi in Theogonia elocutio ab exemplo Homeri pendeat.'

poem in the fact that Thebes, Argos, Corinth, and Sikyon (Mekone) are the cities whose heroes and legends it brings into prominence: *e.g.* the 'Theban' Herakles is repeatedly glorified (his Argive exploits in particular), and the Corinthian Bellerophon has a special notice. The horizon hardly reaches beyond this quarter of eastern Hellas: the Athenian Theseus is barely mentioned, and even the Spartan Dioskouroi are passed over.

For the date of the literary recension, we must look to the editorial postscript. The implied allusions (1001-3) to the Medes ('Medeios') and the Latins ('Latinos') cannot be much earlier than B.C. 600, which is likewise about the earliest time to which the 'Catalogue' can be assigned.¹ But the constituent elements of the poem may well be older. Not to insist on the possible reminiscences on the Chest of Kypselos, Xenophanes (about B.C. 540) quotes

¹ On the supposition that the hymn to Hekate (411-52) is Orphic in character, Fick ascribes the editing to Kerkops of Miletos, E. Gerhard ('Über die Hes. Theog.,' Berlin 1856) to Onomakritos and Kerkops in succession. The poem would then be a compilation made from earlier materials in the age of the Peisistratids about B.C. 520—a view which can scarcely be reconciled with the linguistic evidence, *e.g.* the survival of the digamma. Gruppe suggests that the compiler received his commission from Periander, tyrant of Corinth from B.C. 625, on the evidence of allusions which he detects (189, 290) to districts where this prince planted colonies (Korkyra, Ambrakia); but see notes. From the placing of the volcanic demon Typhoeus under Etna (860), it would be an obvious inference that this passage was not composed till the mountain had become well known through Naxos (B.C. 735) and other Chalkidic foundations, but 'Aitne' rests on an emendation.

'Hesiod' as an accredited authority for stories of the gods (such as that of Kronos): 'Homer and Hesiod imputed to the gods everything that is matter of reproach and blame among men; they multiplied tales of the gods' wickedness, all manner of theft and lechery and deceits.' And Herakleitos (fl. B. C. 500) reproaches 'Hesiod' with superfluous learning (in allusion to the description of Night and Day, 'Theog.' 748 ff.).¹

Herodotos' view of 'Homer' and 'Hesiod' as partners in the construction of the Greek theology is true in the sense that there is no radical deviation in the 'Theogony' from the old Epic tradition concerning the gods. But, notwithstanding its recognition of one or two such 'savage' myths as those which shocked Xenophanes,² the 'Theogony' exhibits a certain advance upon the Homeric religion in its intellectual standpoint. This advance consists not in a deeper ethical conception of the gods' office, such as emerges in the 'Works,' but in a wider range of thought respecting their relation to the world, which is noticeable not so much in details as in the general scheme. For, in tracing the development of the divine rule of Olympos

¹ Sext. Emp. i. 289, and ix. 193; Diog. Laert. ix. 1. Cf. Plut. 'Apophth.' *c. g.* p. 175 C, and Athen. 462.

² These were recognized of necessity, because they had a local and popular sanction: *e. g.* the 'swallowing' myth of Kronos, which was vouched for by the Delphic baetyl. There is no sufficient evidence, however, for the theory of E. Curtius, that the poem had a special Delphic *imprimatur*. Regarding supposed Delphic forms in the dialect, see Rzach, 'Dialekt des Hesiodos' (end).

from the earlier sway of cosmic powers, the poet is consciously concerned with the right and the title of Zeus. From the simple Homeric point of view, Zeus has a moral right to govern mankind as guardian of the unprotected and chastener of the unjust, and a title depending on seniority or the casting of lots. For the poet of the 'Theogony' he reigns as head of the Olympian order, which stands between mankind and the blind destructive rage of Nature; his title is derived from his assessor Earth, the mighty and jealous mother of gods and men, who deposed Ouranos, foiled the crooked counsels of Kronos, and enabled Zeus to defeat her earlier children, the elemental Titans, by their brethren's aid, and to conquer her last hellish offspring, Typhoeus.

1-4. Sing we of the Muses of Helikon, who dance around the violet fount (3).

1 ff. The nucleus of this curiously composite introduction appears to be a short prelude addressed to the Muses of Helikon, and introducing the author as the reciter of his own poem (1-4, 22-34). This may have been recomposed so as to make the poem the song of the Muses themselves (1-21), with the two sections (68-74, 75-80) in inverse order following as an epilogue (see Croiset, 'Litt. Grecque,' I. ch. 12). The rest is patchwork, made up chiefly of a hymn to the Muses of Olympos (36-67), with a piece in praise of kings, designed perhaps by the editor as an indirect eulogy of his patron. [For different reconstructions, see G. F. Schömann's edition (pref.), and H. Deiters, 'De Hesiodi Theogoniae proœmio.']

3. One of the two springs on Mount Helikon, where the Muses had their temple (Pausan., ix. 29). The Greek veneration for springs seems to have arisen partly from the association of

5-21. They bathed in Permessos or Hippokrene or Holmeios, then danced on Helikon. Thence they fared by night, clad in mist, hymning the gods.

22-34. 'Twas they who erst taught Hesiodos a noble song, while he tended his lambs at the foot of Helikon. And thus they spake unto me: 'Ye shepherds of the field, base things of shame, mere bellies, we can tell many a fair falsehood (27), but we can utter truth likewise, when we will.' Then they gave me a staff (30) of laurel, and inspired me to tell of the future and the past, of the gods and themselves.

their natural melody with the gift of song. 5-8. The special mention of the rivers Permessos and Holmeios makes it probable that the enlarged prelude was intended for a local audience, *e.g.* at the Erotideia, a very ancient festival of Eros, celebrated on Helikon under the presidency of the Thespians with musical and gymnastic contests.

22-34. An important question arises here, *viz.*, whether the speaker alludes to himself as Hesiod ('the Muses taught *me*, Hesiod'), or on the contrary distinguishes himself from Hesiod ('the Muses *who formerly taught Hesiod* thus spake to me'). The former rendering, with its abrupt transition to the first person, is not possible if the passage is from one hand. Either, therefore, the interview with the Muses (24 ff.) is a clumsy addition by a second hand, or the author merely claims to have been commissioned to compose a poem (the 'Theogony') in the same vein of 'truth' as the 'noble song of Hesiod' (the 'Works'). In any case, the description is not at all appropriate to the poet of the 'Works': he was neither a shepherd himself nor a despiser of the shepherds. The name Hesiodos may be a corruption of Aisi-odos, 'lucky' (Fick). Some would make it impersonal, 'singer' (*hesi-aoidos*), but this is impossible. 27. The 'falsehoods in the guise of reality' are the Homeric fictions in contradistinction to the 'true' story of the gods. 30. The staff (*rabdos*) originally distinguished the reciter of didactic verse

36-67. Come, sing we of the Muses, who chant together in Olympos of the gods and the race of men and the Gigantes, daughters nine of Mnemosyne (54), who rules in the plains of Eleuther. She bare them unto Zeus in Pierie.

68-74. They went in joyous procession to Olympos, where their sire reigns in might.

75-80. Thus sang the nine daughters of Zeus, Kleio, Euterpe, Thaleia, Melpomene, Terpsichore, Erato, Polymnia, Ouranie, and Kalliope, who is chief among them; for she waits upon kings.

81-103. 'Tis they who bedew the lips of kings with sweetness, so that the people revere them in the judgment-seat. They comfort all men in trouble and mourning.

104-115. Tell of the immortal gods, how they

from the 'chanter' of Homeric verse: hence Pausanias ix. 30 objects to a statue of 'Hesiod' which represented him seated and holding a lyre. The laurel was plentiful in Boiotia (cf. 'Works,' 435). It was chiefly associated with divination, but it might be supposed likewise to inspire the poet and move the audience: such a virtue was certainly attributed to it in later times (see Mayor on Juv. vii. 19). 54. Mnemosyne is 'memory': with this compare *Mousa* = *montja* from *man* ('to think'). Eleuther is probably Eleutheris near Oropos in Boiotia. This hymn may have been designed for a festival (the Amphiaraiā?) at the latter place. The irrelevant allusion to the 'race of men and giants' suggests that it had belonged to a lay which included the origin of mankind (cf. Gruppe, *op. cit.* § 46), or that it was intended to be used when the 'Catalogue' was recited with the 'Theogony.' 75 ff. The names of the Muses (not found in Homer) are mostly variations of the idea of Song—the 'proclaimer' (Kleio), the 'charmer' (Euterpe), etc., or epithets—the 'fair-voiced' (Kalliope), the 'blooming' (Thaleia), the 'lovely'

were born of Earth and Sky, of Night and the Sea; how they divided their wealth and their dignities.

116-38. First of all was Chaos (116), then wide-bosomed Gaia (117), with murky Tartaros (119) below her, and Eros (120). Chaos gendered Erebus (123)

(Erato). 104 ff. A stop-gap (except perhaps the first two lines): so also l. 35, 'But why am I concerned with oak-tree or with rock?' an absurd perversion of 'Il.' xxii. 126.

116. 'Chaos': Aristotle understood this to mean 'space,' and Anaximander perhaps borrowed from it his idea of the 'infinite' (matter indefinite, without qualities) as the source of the material universe (cf. J. B. Mayor, 'Sketch of Greek Philosophy from Thales to Cicero'). But since Earth is generated out of, not merely within it, 'Chaos' must be here a kind of material atmosphere (not so l. 700 and l. 814). The conception, such as it is, owes nothing to the Phoenician or the earlier Babylonian cosmogony; otherwise the first matter would have been akin to water rather than air, and set in motion by a creative wind (cf. Gen. i. 2). 117. Gaia (Earth) has a commanding part throughout the Hesiodic story. She had an ancient oracle at Aigai in Achaia, and was worshipped elsewhere in European Greece, especially at Athens, as the mother of Erectheus. In Homer there is but a slight reflection of her cult, chiefly in connection with oaths ('Il.' iii., see p. 67). 119. A late use of the word for the Under-world (Hades). 120. It has been suggested that Eros here is not Love, but a name akin to *era* (the earth). Furtwängler (in Roscher's 'Lexicon') traces him to an Orphic cosmogony (assumed to be of earlier date than the 'Theogony'), the same which is parodied in Aristophanes' 'Birds' 693-5 (Love hatched from a wind-egg which Night lays in Erebus). It was probably the local cult at Thespiæ (see note on ll. 5-8) which prompted the poet to place Eros by the side of the primordial Chaos and Earth; the description, however, applies to ordinary love ('limb-dissolving, subduing hearts,' etc.), not to any cosmic agency. Prof. Max Müller would explain the Thespian Eros as a personification of the sunbeam (Sanskrit. *arusha*). 123. Erebus: this name (borrowed

and Nyx (Night); from Nyx issued Aither (124) and Hemere (Day). Gaia first bare of herself the starry Ouranos (126) and the mountains and Pontos, even the unvintaged sea: then, mating with Ouranos, she bare unto him Okeanos, Koios, Krios, Hyperion, Iapetos, Theia, Rhea, Themis, Mnemosyne, Phoibe, Tethys, and Kronos (137) her youngest, the most dreadful of her children, who hated his lusty sire.

139-53. She bare likewise the Kyklopes, one-eyed

from the Phoenician, cf. Hebr. *erebh*, evening) denotes the dark region of the sunset (Homeric *zophos*), regarded as the passage to Hades. 124. Aither: the upper air 'aglow' with pure sunlight (cf. *aithousa*, the corridor facing the sun). 126. Ouranos is probably 'the rainy' (see E. T. Wharton, 'Etyma Lat.' s. v. *urina*), not connected with the Vedic *Vāruṇa* (from a different root, *var*, to cover, surround), the personified firmament. He is hardly more than a name, and one of no great antiquity, though he acquired some significance through the designation of the Titans as Ouranidai. The latter name appears once in a late passage of the 'Iliad' (v. 898), but Ouranos himself is nowhere noticed in Homer. Yet either this or the 'swallowing' myth (156 ff.), or some other which gave Kronos a character of craftiness, was pre-Homeric, for the epithet 'crooked-counselling' (137) is common to Homer and the 'Theogony.'

139-210. The names of these Kyklopes ('round-eyed') indicate volcanic demons like those who were in subsequent mythology located under Etna. They have no relation to the giant herdsmen of the 'Odyssey,' and are distinct from the giant builders of Argive legend (whose name Schömann would derive from *kukloi* = 'ring'-walls). They are described l. 143 (a line preserved by Krates the grammarian) as 'mortals' (cf. Eurip. 'Alk.' 6). Yet the honour here assigned them suggests worship, and this the Kyklopes had at Corinth (Pausan. ii. 2, 1). The 'hundred-armed' were originally, perhaps, sea-giants: Gyes the 'bent wave,' Kottos the 'beater,' Briareos (or Obriareos)

and mortal, yet like to gods; they gave the thunder to Zeus and forged the lightning. There were born to them other children, Kottos and Briareos and Gyes, having each a hundred arms and fifty heads.

154-206. Ouranos wickedly hid them all as they were born in Gaia's dark hollows, and she in her distress contrived a crafty device: she made a sickle with adamant (161) of her own body, and gave it to Kronos (for the rest were afraid), and set him in ambush. When Ouranos approached, bringing the night, and was stretched all about her, Kronos grasped him and with the sickle maimed his body. From the blood of the parts that fell on herself she gendered the Erinyes and the Gigantes and the nymphs named Meliai (187).

the 'strong,' but under his other name Aigaion the 'stormy' (son of the sea-god Poseidon, according to 'Il.' i. 403, his son-in-law below, 817). The hundred arms may have been first suggested by the cuttle-fish, which was so prominent, *e.g.* in the art of Mycenae. Briareos played the same part in Corinthian legend (Pausan. ii. 4, 6). 154 ff. The sequence is confused. We should have expected, after the birth of the twelve deities, to hear of Ouranos breeding hybrid monsters (cf. Empedokles 306, 313, Müll.) from Gaia and burying them, till Kronos came to her rescue. To this the birth of Aphrodite would be a proper sequel, if the original idea was that, when Kronos had rid the world of this terribly prolific creator, Aphrodite, inheriting from his body, became in turn the source of orderly fertility within the species. But the birth of the Kyklopes and the Hundred-armed is thrust in abruptly, perhaps (as Gruppe thinks) from a different version, in which *they* overpowered and got rid of Ouranos. 187. Ash-nymphs, in the 'Lay of the Five Ages' ('Works,' 145) the mothers of the savage 'bronzen' race of men, who supplied the ashen spears wherewith they fought and fell by one another's hands. This would appear to be an Argive

From that which was flung from the land on the sea (189) and turned to foam, there issued a goddess fair and awful ; she floated to Kythera first and thence to Kypros ; the grass grew about her feet as she stepped forth. Wherefore the gods call her Aphrodite (195) and Kythereia. Eros (Love) and Himeros (Desire)

myth (Apollod., ii. 1, 1). Some such tradition seems to underlie the Homeric saying ('Od.' xix. 163), 'Surely thou art not sprung of *legendary* tree or rock.' The Gigantes are only mentioned here and l. 50 ('the race of men and giants') : Schömann infers a tradition which made them (with the Meliai) parents of the human race, as in the Orphic 'Argonaut.' 19. The name 'gigantes' may mean 'creators,' as well as 'creatures' (Curt.), or 'earth-born' (the usual derivation).—It is doubtful whether we should ascribe this myth to a primitive (Pelagic) or a Phoenician source. Mr. Lang ('Myth, Ritual, and Religion,' I. ch. 10 and note) shows that in various 'savage' myths sky and earth are pictured as a pair of giants, male and female, who were originally locked together, crushing their offspring (the first men) beneath them till dissevered by the children themselves, who thrust the sky-giant upwards. On the other side it is claimed that one feature of the legend, viz., the mutilation, suggests a Semitic source. We have also evidence from Philo (see Duncker, 'Hist. of Antiquity,' I. bk. ii., 6, and 'Hist. of Greece,' I. p. 428 ff.) of a Phoenician legend in which El maims his father, Baal-Samim, in like manner with a scimitar : here, too (*i. e.* in Philo's translation of the Phoenician story), the god is over-prolific, with the difference that he breeds monsters by several rival wives. There is still more diversity of opinion regarding the origin of the name Kronos ('horned,' acc. to R. Brown, 'Great Dionysiak Myth,' ii. 127, assuming a Semitic derivation). 189. Hardly, as Gruppe explains, 'from Epeiros across the sea (*i. e.* to Korkyra).' 195. As though from *aphros*, foam. Hommel (see the 'Academy,' 25 Feb. 1882) traces the name directly to the Phoenician Ashtóreth (= Athtóret = Aphotet = Aphrotet = Aphrodite), and the Phoenician name to the

waited on her, and she had her honours from the first, dalliance and maiden parle and sweet deceits.

207-10. Ouranos named his children Titans in reproach, because they 'stretched forth' their hands against him; and he declared that vengeance would overtake them.

211-25. The children of Night: Fate (Moros), Destruction (Kêr), Death (Thanatos), Sleep (Hypnos), Dreams; Censure (Momos), Distress; the Hesperides (215); the Fates (Moirai) and the Destroyers (Kêres),

Babylonian Ishtar. 207-18. Inserted to make a show of connection with the Titan-battle (617 ff.). The true meaning of the word is perhaps 'the honoured'; cf. *titene*, 'queen.'

211-25. *Moros*, the doom of death, *Kêr* destruction (violent death). For the brotherhood of death and sleep cf. 'Il.' xvi. 456, and for the grim portraiture of Thanatos see l. 758. *Momos* is the spirit of fault-finding; held up by Plato as a mirror to the Athenians ('Rep.' 487 A). 215. The Hesperides are the guardians of the 'golden apples.' Atlas is their neighbour (in another version they are his daughters). In later times both they and he were definitely localized; e. g. Strabo identified the gardens of the Hesperides with the Canary Islands. Here we have, perhaps, an early suggestion of a blissful abode of the dead in the dim West; for the serpent, which also guards the fruit (334), betokens the Under-world. The Hesperides are singers (275), like the deathful Sirens. From this same paradise came the food of the gods (Eurip. 'Hippol.' 742 ff.), just as in the Norse legend the golden apples of Iduna, which give the gods eternal youth, are stolen with her from Asgard, and have to be recovered from the dark prison of the Storm-giant (in the far North). 217. The Moirai are brought in again (904) as daughters of Zeus and Themis! The latter parentage implies the primitive Homeric idea of Zeus dispensing fate ('Il.' xxii. 209). Here we have the philosophic idea of fate (*i. e.* order) in the universe existing before Zeus. The Kêres are really the Erinyes (cf.

who punish the sins of men and gods (217); Nemesis (223), Eld, Strife (Eris).

226-32. The children of Strife: Toil, Oblivion, Hunger, Sorrows, Battles, Feuds, Quarrels, Lawlessness, and Mischief (Ate); Horkos (the oath), who punishes the perjurer.

233-9. The children of Sea (Pontos) and Earth: Nereus the eldest, Thaumas, Phorkys, Keto, Eurybie.

240-64. The fifty children of Nereus and Doris, daughter of Okeanos.

265-9. The children of Thaumas and Elektra: Iris and the fair-haired Harpies.

Aesch. 'P.V.' 516). The birth assigned to the latter in the preceding section belongs to a different tradition, viz., that the mutilation of Ouranos, as the first sin, called the 'avengers' into existence. 223. Nemesis (Resentment) is not personified in Homer. The word as used in the 'Lay of the Five Ages' (end) retains its true meaning (righteous resentment); here Nemesis is called 'the plague of mortal men,' which is meaningless.

233-9. Pontos, the 'deep'; Thaumas, 'wonderful'; Phorkys, 'white' (according to Hesych.; Schömann would identify the word with *horkys*, a great fish); Keto from *ketos*, a sea-monster; Eurybie, 'powerful.'

240-64. Nereus ('water') is essentially the god of the Greek seas; hence he is described lovingly, as kind and true (in his prophetic character) and just, while his wife Doris derives her names from her 'gifts.' His daughters (the number is actually 52) personify the splendours of the sea, its serviceable bays and islands, etc. The catalogue, however, appears to have been compiled from two sources (cf. Gruppe, *op. cit.*), and contains some allegorical names (257, 258, 261) suggested by the virtues proper to Nereus as a king: these are not found in the Homeric list ('Il.' xviii. 39-49).

270-86. The children of Phorkys and Keto: the fair-faced Graiai hoary from their birth, and the Gorgons three, who dwell beyond Ocean on the borders of Night by the clear-voiced Hesperides (275). One of them, Medousa, was mortal: with her Poseidon lay in a soft, flowering meadow: when Perseus had beheaded her, huge Chrysaor and the horse Pegasos (281) sprang from her body. Pegasos flew away to the abode of the gods, where he carries the thunder and the lightning for Zeus.

287-94. Chrysaor with Kallirrhoe, daughter of Okeanos, begat Geryoneus, whom Herakles slew on

265-9. The Harpies are named Aello ('stormy') and Okypete ('swift-flying'). The description of these spirits of the storm as 'fair-haired,' indicates human heads combined with wings: so they were figured on the Chest of Kypselos.

270-86. We have here the Argive story of Perseus ('destroyer' or 'piercer') slaying the Gorgon Medusa (*medousa*, 'ruler'): her head was supposed to be buried in the agora of Argos. The Graiai (the 'grey' sea-mists) kept watch for the Gorgons in the western ocean (the home of storms). There the sea-god couched with Medusa in some green island of the West; from her pregnant body (the teeming cloud) leaped forth the thunder-bearing Pegasos. This name, if formed from *pegos*, may denote the 'thick' (*i. e.* heavy) cloud or merely the 'thick'-haired horse. If it is from *pege* (a fountain), it may be explained by the idea that springs are caused by thunderbolts penetrating the earth. The fountain Hippokrene on Helikon owed its name to a tradition connecting it, in this sense, with Pegasos: it was supposed to have been opened by the impact of his hoof. The name Chrysaor ('with golden sword') suggests the lightning-flash.

287-94. Erytheia was (1) an island off the mainland of Western Greece between Ambrakia and the Amphilocheian Argos;

the isle Erytheia (290) with Orthros (?) and Eurytion the herdsman, when he crossed the ford of Ocean and drove the oxen to holy Tiryns.

295-332. She (Keto?) likewise bare Echidna (297), the snake-maiden, who was prisoned beneath the earth in the land of the Arimoi. Echidna bare unto Typhaon first Orthros (?), the hound of Geryoneus; then Kerberos (311), the savage hound of Hades with brazen voice and fifty heads; then the

here Geryoneus was located by a tradition preserved in Hekataios ('Fr. Hist. Gr.' I. 27, 349); it was also (2) the Greek name of the island on which Gadeira (Cadiz) was built by the Phoenicians, opposite the mouths of the Baetis (Guadalquivir): in one of the later 'Orientalizing' myths of Herakles, he was said to have sailed that way (in a beaker lent by the Sun-god), and to have set up two pillars at the goal, *i. e.* the rocks on either side of the strait (Calpe = Gibraltar, Abyla = Ceuta). Hence, as Herakles in this story is but a Greek substitute for the Phoenician Melkarth, it is conjectured by Müllenhoff that the story of Geryoneus was likewise adapted from a Phoenician legend, and signified the wresting of the fertile land (represented by the oxen) from the hostile river, personified as the triple-bodied Geryoneus ('loud-voiced'). For the other identification see Gruppe, *loc. cit.* He points out that the name Kallirrhoe is found in this region, and may here designate an Akarnanian goddess, a daughter perhaps of the Acheloös. With Herakles' quest of cattle, compare his coveting of horses ('Od.' xxi. 26). Tiryns was one of his favourite abodes; he is frequently called 'Tirynthian.'

295-332. For Echidna ('snake') and Typhaon see l. 820 ff. Orthros (v. l. Orthos) is identified by Prof. Max Müller with the Sanscr. *Vritra*, the dog of Yama, lord of the dead, and explained as the morning twilight, Kerberos as = Sanscr. *çarvaras*, whence *çabalas*, the darkness of night (or simply = *ereberos* 'darkness': so Welcker, who regards the myth of Herakles' struggle with Kerberos as descriptive of a solar eclipse). The

hydra of Lerne (314), whom Here reared for a grudge against Herakles, and the fire-breathing Chimaira (319), who was slain by Pegasos and noble Bellerophon. She (Echidna?) bare unto Orthros (?) Phix (326), the pest of the Kadmeioi, and the lion whom Here sent to plague the people of Nemeia (329); he lorded over Treton and Apesas till Herakles vanquished him.

333-6. The last-born of Keto and Phorkys was the serpent (334), who guards the golden apples at the earth's end.

337-45. The children of Tethys and Okeanos:

name of the hell-hound may, however, merely represent the sound of barking, and the conception may have been suggested by the noises issuing from caverns in volcanic regions, reputed to be entrances to the Under-world (cf. 'Van Lennep,' *ad loc.*). Fick explains 'Kerberos' as 'stiff-haired,' 'Orthos' as 'bristling.' 314. An Argive legend in honour of Herakles: the hydra ('water-snake'), with its hundred heads, is the river Amymone, issuing in many sources from the rocky base of Mount Pontinos, and swamping the plain of Lerne. 319. A Corinthian legend in honour of Bellerophon ('slayer of horrors,' *belver* [= *bdelur*]*a*, according to Fick). His winged horse was the mint-mark on the coins of Corinth. 'Chimaira' appears to be the Semitic '*chamirah*' ('burnt up'), confused with the Greek word for a she-goat: hence the goat's form (or head, as here) is an accident, while the lion and serpent are significant of the roaring and hissing of the volcano. 326. Or 'she' may refer back to Echidna. 'Phix' is the local (Boiotian) form of 'Sphinx' ('choking'), the demon of drought and pestilence, a hybrid figure of the Assyrio-Phoenician, not the Egyptian type, *i. e.* winged and beardless (so she appears in Mycenaean art; see Schuchhardt, fig. 187). 329. An Argive legend, like that of the hydra, referring to the clearance of the land; the lion's lair was in a mountain (Treton, 'cavernous') on the way from Mycenae to

the rivers Neilos, Alpheios, Eridanos, Strymon, Maiandros, Istros, Phasis, Rhesos, Acheloïos, Nessos, Rhodios, Haliakmon, Heptaporos, Grenikos, Aisepos, Simoeis, Peneios, Hermos, Kaïkos, Sangarios, Ladon, Parthenios, Euenos, Ardeskos, Skamandros;

346-70. And the daughters of Okeanos, who are appointed by Zeus with the Rivers and Apollo to tend the young.

Kleonai. Apesas (now Fuka) is a lofty mountain overlooking the vale of Nemea in the same district.

337-45. Tethys ('nursing-mother'), not in Homer, except 'Il.' xiv. 201. The list is made up from the rivers of the Troad in 'Il.' xii. 20 ff., and others celebrated in Epic poetry (*e.g.* Kaïkos, connected with the Mysian Telephos), along with some which represent the northern region of Greece (Strymon, Haliakmon, Nessos or Nestos, Ardescos), and the distant North (Istros, Phasis) with the far South (Neilos). We have scarcely a clue to the date of this compilation. For, though Istros and Phasis, as names of the Danube and Rion, can hardly be earlier than the sixth century, both may here be mythical (*cf.* Herod. iv. 32), and the Eridanos may be, not the Padus, but the river on whose banks the Heliades were turned into amber-weeping trees (*cf.* Hesiod. fr. 184, Markscheffel). The river of Egypt, too, may have received its Greek name Neilos (after the Semitic *shihor*, 'dark-coloured,' Isaiah xxiii. 3) long before the Greek settlement in the Delta (Naukratis, B. C. 630).

346-70. This list must have been compiled from two distinct sources. For some of the names are merely descriptive of water-nymphs, while the other Okeanides are great personages, daughters of Okeanos, as parent of the gods ('Il.' xiv. 201), *e.g.* Metis and Eurynome (wives of Zeus, *cf.* l. 886, 907), Dione (l. 17), Tyche (Fortune); also Peitho (Persuasion), not here the agent of Love but probably the Conciliation, which brought the world to order; she was worshipped at Athens in a kindred sense as the goddess who aided Theseus' work of confederation.

371-4. The children of Theia and Hyperion: Helios, Selene, Eos.

375-7. The children of Krios and Eurybie: Astraios, Pallas, Perses.

378-82. The children of Astraios and Eos: white Zephyros, Boreas, Notos, Eosphoros (the morning star), and the stars of heaven.

383-403. The children of Styx and Pallas: Zelos, Nike, Kratos, Bia. Unto Styx Zeus vouchsafed high honour, and made her the oath of the gods, because she brought her sons to his aid against the Titans.

404-10. The children of Phoibe and Koios: dark-robed Leto, the gentle, and Asterie.

'Europe' and 'Asie' may be interpreted as river-epithets, 'broad-faced' (*i. e.* spreading) and 'slimy' or 'sandy,' without reference to the two lands on either side of the Aegean. 'Telesto' is perhaps sacrificial water.

371-4. Theia, 'magnificent'; Hyperion, 'exalted' (child of the height), is a by-name of Helios himself in the 'Odyssey' (i. 8 and elsewhere) and twice in the 'Iliad' (viii. 480; xix. 398).

375-7. Krios 'ram,' Pallas 'shaker,' Perses 'destroyer': these names (suggesting the wild forces of Nature) may have been found in the fuller description of the Titan-battle (see below, ll. 617 ff.).

378-82. Astraios perhaps = Astraiolos, the 'thoroughfare' of the stars, *i. e.* the zodiac (Fick, 'Ilias,' p. 562). If so, the parentage assigned to the winds denotes (*a*) their shifting from pole to pole, and (*b*) their springing up at dawn. The east wind (Euros) is not found in this company; is he one of the bad winds, the offspring of Typhoeus (870)?

383-403. 'Emulation,' 'Victory,' 'Strength,' 'Force' (worshipped at Corinth, Pausan. ii. 4, 7), names meant to suggest the *vis temperata* of Zeus in contrast with the wild Titanic

411-52. The child of Asterie and Perses is Hekate. Zeus made her powerful on earth and sea and in the sky (415): men invoke her now when they sacrifice. Zeus deprived her not of the powers that were allotted to her among the Titans. She is good to assist whom she will, warriors and princes in the seat of judgment and athletes in the games, horsemen and fishers on the sea; with Hermes she makes the stock to increase or decrease in the folds. Great is her dignity, albeit she is the only child of her mother. Zeus appointed her likewise to foster the young.

453-500. The children of Rhea and Kronos were

powers. The covenant with Styx is arranged by her father Okeanos, who likewise held aloof from the Titans' rebellion.

404-10. Phoibe, the goddess of 'light' (? p. 69), after whom Phoibos is named as her grandson. Leto ('darkness') is gentle and comfortable, as the night is balmy ('ambrosial').

411-52. Hekate ('far-darting,' cf. *hekatos*, 'Il.' i. 385), a name of the moon-goddess Artemis, which came to stand for a separate infernal deity, who illumined the shades and sent ghosts to haunt houses and streets. [Mr. J. B. Bury, 'Classical Rev.' III., interprets it as 'the dog' (cf. *hekaton* = *hund*-red), because young dogs were offered to Hekate in Athenian rites of purification at the crossways.] This infernal moon-goddess appears nowhere in Homer, and belongs to the post-Homeric conception of the Under-world, which went with magic, and was developed in local mysteries. The far-fetched eulogy before us may be connected with some local cult, *e. g.* at Argos or Aigina (Pausan. ii. 22, 7; 30, 2). Some mystic hymn to the 'triune' goddess (mighty in heaven and earth and Hades) has evidently been adapted, hence the exaggeration and confusion; in one section the honours of Hekate have belonged to her from of old, elsewhere (412, 450) she has them from Zeus.

453-500. The story of the swallowing (a single incident from

Hestia, Demeter, Here, Hades, Poseidon, and Zeus. Kronos swallowed the rest as they came to birth, for he had learned from his parents that one of them would vanquish him. But when Zeus was to be born, Rhea took counsel of them, and when her babe was born in Krete, Gaia took and hid him in a cave, and gave Kronos a stone wrapped in swaddling-clothes for to swallow. Then he disgorged his children one by one and the stone afterward, and Zeus set it fast in the ground at Pytho for a sign and a wonder.

501-6. Now he (Zeus) released his father's

the Cretan legend of the birth of Zeus) is not only strange to Homer, but opposed to 'Il.' xiv. 201-4, and to the Homeric tradition of Zeus as the eldest son ('Il.' xv. 182). What underlies it, however, is not mere irrational fetichism, as in the parallel 'savage' myths quoted by Mr. Lang, but a sacred usage which the poet was bound to record. A stone, preserved at Delphi, and supposed to be that which Kronos disgorged, was anointed daily and on festivals swathed in wool; this was done in memory of the 'swaddling' as here described, and Zeus himself was supposed to have set it up in the sacred precinct. These holy stones (really, no doubt, meteorites) were called by a Semitic name (*baitylos*=*bêth-îl*), which reminds us that the custom prevailed in Syria and Palestine (cf. Gen. xxviii. 18). This and other incidents of the Cretan myth may have been of Phoenician origin. Phoenician influence was strong in Crete, and Cretan influence at Delphi; the first priests of Delphi were, or were believed to have been, from Crete (see the Homeric Hymn to Apollo Pyth.). The sacred localities named here are the towns Lyktos and Diktynna, and the 'Aigaian' mountain (Ida?). The name Rhea may be akin to Sanscr. *urvi*, the broad earth.

501-6. Inserted, perhaps, from a lay in which the fall of Ouranos was brought about by the three 'Hundred-armed' giants and the Kyklopes (cf. note on l. 154 ff., end); the overthrow of Kronos by the same agency would have followed, but

brethren, whom their sire had chained, and they gave him the thunderbolt to requite his service.

507-616. The children of Iapetos and Klymene : Atlas, Menoitios, Prometheus, and Epimetheus, who brought evil on men at the first, when he took in the woman made of clay. Zeus hurled the froward Menoitios to Erebos, and Atlas by his doom upholds the sky with head and hands ; he bound Prometheus to a pillar and sent an eagle to feed on his heart, but Herakles the Theban (530) had leave to slay the bird, and won yet greater renown. Now this was the cause of the quarrel : When gods and men came to terms at Mekone (535), Prometheus was fain to

our 'Theogony' omits this, except l. 851, an interpolation ; we have the sequel in the Titan-battle.

507-616. Iapetos appears to have denoted, in the earlier Greek or 'Pelagic' mythology, some divine ancestor of the race whose great god was Kronos. That they belong to a common tradition is evident from their juxtaposition, *e. g.* 'Il.' viii. 479 ; cf. Homeric Hymn to Apoll. Pyth. 158, where they appear to be meant by the 'Titans of whom gods and men are sprung.' Klymene is an Okeanid (351). 535. That is, after the reign of Kronos. In the 'Catalogue' it would appear that Prometheus was married to Pandora, and their children were Deukalion and Pyrrha ; other mythographers made her wife of Epimetheus. The story here told seems to be borrowed from the original lay also utilized in the 'Works' 42 ff., but it has been awkwardly altered and added to. Zeus having to be propitiated by men with burnt sacrifices, Prometheus contrived to put him off with bones and fat (for the actual usage, see the Homeric description, *e. g.* 'Od.' iii. 447 ff.) : Zeus winked at the deception, but in return for this economy, and for Prometheus' theft of fire, men were saddled with womankind ; this was brought about by Epimetheus in his folly housing Pandora, who is here a

outwit Zeus in the matter of sacrifice; moreover, he stole the fire, which Zeus withheld from men, in a stalk of fennel (567). Wherefore the god caused Hephaistos to fashion a woman of clay; Athene attired her in a white robe and kerchief, and set on her head a chaplet of flowers and a golden frontlet, whereon were wrought many marvellous figures of beasts and fishes. Of her is the race of women. They are the bane of men, no companions save in luxury, but even as drones in the hive. If a man eschews marriage, he has none to tend his old age, and kinsmen divide his substance: if he marries even a good wife, yet there is evermore a counterpoise of evil and the trouble of children.

617-819. Now Zeus and the other gods, by the

Greek 'Eve,' the first woman and the mother of her sex. This strange account of Pandora looks like an alteration or travesty of the original. Gruppe conjectures that in the original myth Zeus gave Prometheus his choice between a beautiful clay image and something else, perhaps the lightning. Mekone (Sikyon), where the scene is laid, esteemed itself the oldest city of the Peloponnesos. 567. The long stalk of this plant (*ferula communis*) served as tinder to carry fire; it is still used by the peasants in Greece and Italy. Hence the story may be merely a reminiscence of a time when fire was liable to be lost and had to be fetched or stolen from a neighbouring tribe (see Mr. Lang, *Encycl. Brit.* 'Prometheus'). It is interpreted by A. Kuhn as a survival of Aryan mythology; he supposes that the name 'Prometheus' resulted from a combination or confusion of the Vedic *pramanthas*, the sacred fire-drill, so greatly venerated by the Aryans of India, with a Vedic surname of the fire-god Agni, *Pramati* (forethought).

617-719. The story of the Titan-battle is abruptly brought in and so abridged that it is quite unintelligible. It presupposes

counsel of Gaia, released Obriareos and Kottos and Gyes from Erebos. She foretold that this alliance would give them the victory. For the Titan gods (630) and the children of Kronos fought for ten full years, these from Othrys and those from Olympos, till they, the hundred-armed, lent their aid to Zeus. They prevailed against the Titans' strong phalanxes (676), and the battle waxed furious. Zeus hurled his bolts; all the earth was aflame and the sea boiled (696), the heat filled Chaos (700), and the noise was

and passes over the downfall of Kronos (see note on 501-6). The description of the battle appears to be borrowed piecemeal from two sources; in one the Hundred-armed, who had overthrown Kronos, brought Zeus the thunderbolts (cf. 501 ff.), armed with which he led the other gods against the foe; in the other the three giants subdued the Titans by themselves. Hence nothing comes of Zeus hurling his bolts (687), because the sequel is taken from the second version. If the confusion is due to a second hand, the description of Zeus' personal victory (687-712) must be, as Köchly thinks, a later addition designed to give Zeus more honour than the first poet allowed him. 'Chaos' (700) seems to be the air, or, as Gruppe thinks, the residue of the elemental matter (l. 1) which is burnt up by the flaming bolts and becomes the 'chasm' described l. 740; but this is inconsistent with l. 814, where the Titans are found dwelling 'on the farther side of the gloomy Chaos.' The compiler does not tell us who his 'Titan gods' are (630): he is content with the vague anticipation (207-10) and the mention of the 'froward' Iapetos, Atlas, and Menoitios; but to judge from l. 676 they were in the original a great horde, and the picture was one of a war like that between the Indras and Râkchashas, or that between Thor and the Giants. The scene is laid in Thessaly, the enemy assaulting Olympos from Othrys. This wild region would suggest of itself a battle-field, where the scattered rocks had been missiles in giant hands.

as though the sky crashed upon the earth. But they overbore the foe, hurling rocks with all the might of their hands, and drave them beneath the ground, even to Tartaros, as far below the earth as the sky is above it; a bronzen anvil (722) would fall for nine days and nights through either space. A wall of bronze encompasses Tartaros, triple darkness spreads over the neck (727) thereof, above it are the roots of earth and sea. There the Titans are imprisoned, and the giants three keep ward. There (736) are the sources and ends of earth and Tartaros, of the sea and the sky; 'tis a mighty chasm (740), wherein one would be blown to and fro a whole year ere he fell to the bottom, a fearful wonder. And there stands the abode of Night. In front is Atlas (746) upholding the sky, where Night and Day meet and speak as they pass in and out of their house. It is the dwelling of Sleep and Death, on whom the sun never shines; the one visits men gently, the other is iron-hearted (758) and snatches men away evermore. The house of Hades and Persephone is there, and the dread hound before the gate: he fawns on them who enter, but suffers none to go forth: he devours every one who would escape. There is Styx, the eldest daughter of Okeanos, in a rocky dwelling that is reared sky-ward

720-819. This description of the Under-world is likewise a patchwork: Tartaros is first placed far down beneath the roots of the earth and sea and the springs or foundations (736) of Ocean, approached through a ridge (727), then (746 ff.) on the western outskirts of the earth, like the Hades of 'Od.' xi. 722. Or thunderbolt, as in 'Il.' xv. 19; the conception was first,

on silver pillars (779). Iris fares thither when the Olympian gods are at strife. If one of them utters a lie, Zeus sends her thither with a golden ewer to fetch the famous water flowing down the rock; it is a mighty flood, for she has a tenth part of the water of Okeanos (789); the other nine branches circle round about earth and sea and fall into the brine. If a god swears falsely when he makes a libation thereof, he lies for a great year breathless in a trance (798), neither eating nor drinking, and for nine years more the gods drive him from their councils and their feasts. There, by the marble gates and the fixed threshold of bronze, Kottos and Gyes are housed, but Briareos (817) is wedded to Kymopoleia, Poseidon's daughter.

820-80. Thereafter Gaia bare unto Tartaros the mighty god Typhoeus, who breathed fire from a hundred serpent heads and uttered divers fearful

perhaps, derived from the fall of a mass of meteoric iron (see Paley's note). 779. The rocky palace with silver pillars may have been suggested by a stalactite cavern. The supposed effect of the water on the perjured god (798) recalls a primitive poison ordeal (*Encycl. Brit.* s. v. 'Styx'); there were similar superstitions attached to the Arkadian Styx, which popular tradition connected with the infernal river.

820-80. This piece must have been, in part, transferred from another poem, where 'on that day' (836) meant the day on which Typhoeus was born; whereas, according to our 'Theogony,' he lived to beget divers monsters (295, 869). Or the original may have been altered by the suppression of a passage (after l. 838) where Zeus released the Kyklopes, as he had previously released the Hundred-armed, and they lent him the thunderbolt, the motive of the alteration being, as in the case of

voices as of bull or lion or dog, but likewise such sounds as the gods understand (831). On that day (836) he would have gained the empire, but Zeus saw and strode down thundering from Olympos. Then with the fire of both the earth seethed and long waves rolled and beat on the forelands [Hades trembled and the Titans who are with Kronos (851) in Tartaros], and Zeus blasted all the monster's heads with his levin-bolt, so that he lay maimed and smouldering in a rugged vale of Aitne (860), and the earth around was burnt and molten like tin or iron in the furnace; and Zeus hurled him into Tartaros. Of Typhóeus are the unprofitable storm-winds that vex land and sea; only Notos and Boreas and white Zephyros are divine.

881-929. Now when the Titans were subdued, by

the Titan-battle, to isolate and magnify Zeus (cf. Croiset, *op. cit.*, p. 522 f.). The picture is manifestly studied from the phenomena of a volcanic eruption—the roaring and hissing, with the mysterious premonitory sounds (831), the earth seething as in a melting-pot, the earthquake wave (cf. 696). 'Aitne' (860) rests on a highly probable emendation, but the line may have been interpolated or subsequently added by the author. An Homeric notice ('Il.' ii. 782) shows that the legend had its origin in a volcanic district of Asia Minor (Arimoi), probably, as Partsch has shown, that of the lofty volcanic mountain Argaios in Kappadokia. The name Typhoeus=Typhaon likewise appears to be a Semitic word denoting first and properly a viper, then (by resemblance to a word of similar sound) darkness and the north wind (cf. Gruppe, *op. cit.*, p. 577).

881-929. In this account of the nuptial relations of Zeus we have two myths which do not appear in Homer, the swallowing of Metis and the strange birth of Athene. Though the motive

the hest of Gaia, Zeus was made sovereign of the gods and apportioned their privileges (885). First he took to wife Metis (886) the 'all-wise, that she might rede him of good or evil. Her he swallowed betimes, when she was about to bring forth Athene; for Gaia and Ouranos had forewarned him of a son who would supplant him, if he were born. Next he wedded Themis and Eurynome (907); Demeter bare unto him Persephone, whom Aïdoneus ravished from her

of the former is primitive—the same which goes with cannibalism, when the savage expects to take possession of his enemy's virtues by eating him—yet the drift of the whole is philosophical. Zeus 'takes to himself' first Counsel (Metis), then Right (Themis), whose children are Order (Eunomia), Justice (Dike), Peace (Eirene), and the Moirai (904), Klotho ('spinster'), Lachesis ('allotter'), Atropos ('unalterable'), who represent the conditions of human life as fixed in the sense of not depending on chance; and then, through other unions, he confers on mankind the blessings that follow in the train of the Charites, the Muses, etc., and of his Olympian children. His dignity, too, is saved by making Here his *last* wife. She has no rivals; after his marriage with her Zeus consorts with none of her compeers. This is the reverse of the Homeric story ('Il.' xiv. 326 ff.), and of the Ionic tradition (peculiar to Euboia and Samos) of the *youthful* love and marriage of Zeus and Here. The name of the goddess may mean 'saviour' (L. *servare*), as *heros* 'guardian,' cf. Herakles. 904. This ethical conception of the Seasons (Horai) foreshadows the Dorian ideal; they personify the political conditions which conduce to fertility. The poet probably follows the Corinthian tradition; the Horai were specially worshipped in that city (Pausan. ii. 20, 4). At Athens they were simply goddesses of blossoming' (Thallo) and 'fruit' (Karpo). In Homer ('Il.' v. 749) they keep the gate of Olympos. 907. Eurynome belonged to the older cosmogony (346 ff., cf. 'Il.' xviii. 399). The Charites (with Eurynome,

mother (913): Mnemosyne bare to him the Muses nine; Leto her lovely children, Apollo and Artemis (918). Last of all he wedded Here; their children are Hebe and Ares and Eitheithyia. But Athene was born from his own head, and Here, in jealousy, begat Hephaistos (927) of herself.

930-62. Of Amphitrite and Poseidon was born Triton (931). The children of Ares and Kythereia were Phobos (Flight) and Deimos (Panic), likewise Harmonie, whom Kadmos (937) wedded. Hermes

Pausan. viii. 41, 4) were great goddesses at Orchomenos, where they were represented by three ancient baetyls. They were at first simply dispensers of earth's bounty (whence their name, 'the joyous beings'). Here their individual names (borrowed from Orchomenos) denote the festive side of life ('splendour,' 'mirth,' 'good cheer'); but they had come to be associated likewise with beauty and love ('Il.' v. 338; 'Od.' vi. 18); so they appear in the myth of Pandora. Dione is not included among the wives of Zeus, as in Homer ('Il.' v. 370), because the Homeric Aphrodite, her daughter, has been displaced by the new Semitic Aphrodite (Ourania): her name, copied from some older cosmogony, appears (l. 19) among the great deities, and in the list of the Okeanides (353), but its significance is lost. 918. Cf. *artemes*, 'pure' or 'cherished' (Fick explains the name 'cherishing,' from *temes*-, cf. *tamie*).

930-62. 931. Triton, the 'water-god' (of the Pelasgic worship?). See 'Od.' xiii. 190. The selection of personages and myths points mainly to Thebes. For the marriage of Ares and Aphrodite (a Theban tradition), cf. 'Od.' viii. 274. 937. The Semitic derivation proposed for the names Kadmos (*kedem* = 'eastern' or 'ancient') and Harmonie (*kharmon* = 'sanctuary,' the 'holy' mistress of the harem) depends on such traditions as that of Kadmos bringing the alphabet with him from Phoenicia and the abduction of 'Europe' from the same country. But these are late and 'learned' Ionian inventions, not genuine old

was the son of Zeus by Maia, daughter of Atlas ; Dionysos by Semele, daughter of Kadmos ; Herakles by Alkmene. Hephaistos wedded Aglaïe (945), youngest of the Charites ; Dionysos wedded Ariadne, daughter of Minos ; Herakles wedded Hebe, when he had achieved his mighty deed (954) among the gods. The children of Helios (957) and Perseis were Kirke and Aietes, who was father of Medeia by Eiduia.

myths. Europe appears in the interpolated passage 'Il.' xiv. 315 ff. (cf. Hesiod. fr. 58), but in this poem the name belongs only to an Okeanid. 'Kadmos' is Greek, from *kad*, 'to excel,' cf. 'Kastor,' or = kosmos, 'governor' (Lokrian and Cretan). Worshipped first as a local god, then as the heroic ancestor of Ionian families connected with Thebes, he was likewise regarded by the Ionians as the author of the Phoenician alphabet, which they made their own. Harmonie (Hermonie) was a local goddess linked with Kadmos by the legend of their marriage, at which all the gods assisted. 945. Aglaïe, one of the three Charites of Orchomenos. The Homeric poet ('Il.' xviii. 382) calls the wife of Hephaistos simply 'Charis.' Their marriage simply symbolizes the union of beauty with skill in metal-work. 947. Ariadne (agne), 'very worshipful,' the Cretan name of a goddess who reappeared as a heroine in myths connecting her with Minos and the Athenian Theseus. The idea underlying the story of her union with the wine-god seems to be the death-sleep and awakening of the fruitful earth ; hence the mingled mourning and rejoicing at the rites in honour of her marriage in Naxos and at Athens (Oskophoria). The 'dancing-place' in Cnosos ('Il.' xviii. 591) is the scene of her great Cretan festival. It was at Argos, however, that her tomb was shown (Pausan. ii. 23, 8) in the precinct of Dionysos. 954. A solitary allusion to the battle of the gods and 'giants,' in which Herakles did mighty slaughter (Pindar, 'Nem.' i.). 957. This selection from the descendants of the Sun-god (Helios) chiefly concerns Corinth, where Medea was worshipped and Aietes was venerated as an

963-1018. Sing now, Muses, of goddesses mated with mortal men. The hero Iasios (970) begat a child of Demeter in a thrice-ploughed fallow of Krete, even Ploutos; he enriches them who encounter him by land and sea. The children of Kadmos and Harmonie were Ino (976), Semele, Agaue, Autonoe, wife of Aristaïos, and Polydoros. Of Chrysaor (979) and Kallirrhoe was born Geryoneus, whom Herakles slew. Eos bare to Tithonos Memnon, lord of the Aithiopes, and Emathion (985), and to Kephalos Phaethon (987), whom Aphrodite carried off and

ancient king. The name Eiduia ('knowing'), like the Homeric epithet of Aietes ('Od.' x. 136), is founded on Medea's fame for sorcery, which rests on her original character as a moon-goddess.

963 ff. 970. Iasios, a defunct earth-god, who survived as a hero beloved of Demeter, cf. 'Od.' v. 125. The name Ploutos ('wealth') is interpreted here in reference to every kind of wealth, even commercial; in the form Plouton (Pluto) it became a surname of Hades or Aidoneus, Demeter's son-in-law (913), first perhaps in connection with the Eleusinian worship (cf. L. Dyer, 'The Gods in Greece,' p. 177, n. 3). For various derivations of 'Demeter,' see Schömann, *ad loc.* D'Arbois de Jubanville, *op. cit.* I. p. 291, assuming the cult to have been Graeco-Thrakian, suggests that *de* is=*dhe* (*the*), to 'nourish.' Fick ('Griech. Personennamen,' p. 437) interprets the name 'mother of the house' (cf. *des-potes*) or of the *demos*. 976. Ino and her sisters belong to the Theban legend of Dionysos. Aristaïos appears in Euboian legend as tending the wine-god in his youth: his functions as god and hero were connected with agriculture and bee-keeping. Polydoros is father of the Theban Labdakos. 979. Chrysaor (cf. 278 ff.) is strangely ranked among mortal men, perhaps because his mother Medousa was mortal. 985. Emathion, an 'Ethiopian' (or Arabian) king, slain by Herakles. 987. Phaethon ('beaming'), in a later myth the son of Helios, seems here to be the morning star personified

made keeper by night (?) of her temple. Iason, son of Aison, won and wedded Medeia; she bare to him Medeios (1001), whom Cheiron, son of Philyra (1002), brought up. Of the daughters of Nereus, Psamathe bare Phokos to Aiakos, and Thetis bare Achilles to Peleus. Aineias was begotten of Kythereia and Anchises on Mount Ida. Kirke bare to Odysseus Agrios (1013) and Latinos and Telegonos; they ruled over all the Tyrsenoi afar in the sacred isles (1015). Kalypso bare to him Nausithoos and Nausinoos (1017).

1019-22. These were they whom goddesses bare to mortal men. Sing ye now, Muses, of the race of women.

as a beautiful youth, who guards the temple of Aphrodite during the night, while he is invisible in the sky. This conflicts with l. 381, where Eosphoros (likewise the morning star) is son of Astraïos. 1001. As the name Medeios was only invented to connect Medeia with the Medes, this notice can hardly be earlier than *circ.* B. C. 650, when they had become known as an independent and formidable nation. 1013. 'Agrios,' if genuine, appears to be merely a fanciful name for the 'savage' western folk. The appearance of the Latin name ('Latinos') is another indication of late date, especially in connection with Kirke; for it was not till after the rise of Magna Graecia that Greek myths were localized in Italy. The realm assigned to these sons of Odysseus and Kirke is obscure: the 'sacred isles' perhaps vaguely represent Sicily with the Aeolian isles and Italy beyond. The name 'Tyrsenoi' was sometimes used for the Italians generally, even at a still later time (Dion. Hal. i. 29). 1017. These names are otherwise unknown. Telegonos (interpolated in some MSS., l. 1014) was the name of Odysseus' son by Kalypso in the 'Telegonia,' or by Kirke, according to the 'Nostoi.'

1019-22. These lines evidently introduced a catalogue of mortal women mated with gods, that is, mothers of heroes or demigods, a far longer and more important series.

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